YASNA XXIX
EQUIVALENTS
IN ITS
SANSKRIT

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YASNA XXIX

IN ITS

SANSKRIT EQUIVALENTS

BY

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THE

SANSKRIT EQUIVALENTS OF YASNA XXIX,

in sequence to those of Yasna XXVIII published in the Festgruss of the late Professor R. von Roth, 1893, p. 193, and to those of Yasna XLIV published in the Actes of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1897, and re-edited in the Zeitschrift D. M. G. of July 1911 and of a later date.

by Professor **MILLS.**[*1]

Námaḥ(-o) vaḥ(-o), he Gáthāḥ(-ā) ṛtāvarīḥ*

1. Yušmábᶜyaṁ góḥ (gór) (*ruvaṇa-çrut(-d)-) ātmá[*2] (-á'g-) ágarhata : kásmāi mā (mám) átvakšadᶜvam ?; — káḥ (-ó) mā (mám) átakšat ? ; —

(b) -á mā (mám) *éšmaḥ(-ma)[*3] (íty,éša-héḍaḥ) sáhaç-ča kródᶜena [-ā] ākramáḥ[*4] (-ò's-) así-kšaya-kareṇa[*5] dᶜṛš (dᶜaršaṇaṁ)-ča táviši-ča[*6] [(tāyúḥ(-r-vā) ākrāmanti)] ; —

(c) néd me vastā [(-é'ti çabda-kalpā'nukṛtyártᶜa-mátraṁ* tátᶜā (-āi-) evāṁ, kíla, néd me kṛšakaḥ kṛši-vidyā-jñáḥ(-s))] tvákšīyān (vidyáte)] yušmát(-d) anyáḥ (-ó 'tᶜā) átᶜā (tárhi) me samā-çastá (anu-çāstá) vásūni kṛšyártᶜāni.[*7,8]

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*1 See also Yasna I. in the skt. forms, Leipzig, 1911, by the same author.

*2 *ruvaṇa-çrut*, *urvan* = ' *ruvan* ' ; — a humming in the ears indicated the soul, as the ' breath ' (to *an-*) did to the Indians.

*3 ** *éšmaḥ(-s)* formed like *éma*, etc., *-ma* suffix with accent upon the strengthened root syllable.

*4 *Remō*, or — ?, may be gloss, — to Pers. *ramīdan* ; — whether the idea of ' inertia ', and so ' desolation ' could be connected with *rām* = ' to repose peace fully ' ?; — stranger developments of ideas are familiar.

*5 Cp., for form, *asid'ārā* ; — otherwise, Av. *āhišayā*, = ind. *ā-sišāya* to *si* = ' to bind ', Ṛv. X., 28, 10. (**Types fail us for accented long vowels, etc.)

Translation.

Homage to you O Sacred Gāthas*[1].

1. Unto you, [O Ahura and Asha], *Gēuš-urvan* (*-ruvan*,*[1] the Herd's Soul) cried-grieving*[2] : For what, (or ' for whom ') did ye create me ; — who fashioned me*[3] ; —

(b) On me [comes] the Fury-of-assaulting-raid, and overwhelming-Force, the blow-of-desolation, and destruction-with-the-sword*[4], audacious-insolence, and thievish*-might [(or — ' these... have fettered (?) me ')] ; —

(c) None other pasture-giver have I save you, — therefore do ye teach *me good tillage-for-fields*[4] (my only hope of safety).

*1 From Y. XXVIII., Intro. ; See SBE XXXI, and Gāthas.

*2 ' the Cow's Soul '. — A cry in pessimism, being a ' groan of the Creation '. Border raiding warfare was then, as for centuries later, the central fatal evil of the situation, involving, as a chief item, the capture of the (sacred) Herds. See also the ' sacredness ' of agriculture, which was the key to Aryan civilisation. *Ar*(*ya*) to ' *ar* ' = ' to plough ' ; — cp. *aratrum*. Cp. the weird Vedic Hymn X, 146, where the spirit of the forest animals calls.

*3 A semi-dualistic demi-urge seems to be here foreshadowed.

*4 See also Y., 33, 6. Or ' command for me ' ; hardly to *çad* = ' effect for me '.

*6 *tāyuš* = *tāyúh*-(*-s*), so, beyond a doubt, with the Pahl., for the senseless (?) Av. *taviš*- of the Mss. ; — ' *v* ' closely resembles ' *y* ' in some Mss., as *ā* often = *a*.

*7 Or we might form a **vástrāṇi*, ***vástryāṇi* -**çaṅsta*.

*8 The Avesta characters are, with slight phonetic change, except at the four words indicated, nearly identical ; — these words should be represented by starred Sanskrit forms. For further critical notes see below. The accentuation*** here used throughout is purposely left redundant***, and sometimes otherwise irregular***, the object being to call the attention of readers to an approximately*** accordant*** Gāthic accent upon each word***.

Góḥ(-s) Táštā.

2. Ádᶜā tákšā [(-é-) íti, kíla táštā, dᶜātá(?)-vā,] góḥ(-r) ápṛččᶜat(-d) ṛtáṁ : katᶜá te gáve [(góḥ(-r) hetóḥ(-ór)] ṛtúpatiḥ (-r ásīt(-d), ádᶜy-ákriyata-ča) ; — [(-(-é-)íti, kíla, katᶜáṁ gópati(-r), gopáḥ(-s*), te (-a) etávāṁ** ásīt (ása), patíḥ(-r) gáve tat-sárva-dáridratá(-ā-*)-ākāṅkšāḥ prayojanāni-ča(-o-) upakṛṇváṁ(t)*, sampūráyañča, prakṛṇvañča)], —

(b) yát(-d) (yadá, yárhi) *sīṁ (imáṁ gáṁ) *dᶜáta (ádᶜatta(-ā-), átvakšata(-é'ti)), (hayé vaḥ(-s(?)) tadártᶜaṁ kšáyantaḥ(-to), [(manyávaḥ(-a) *ṛ́tāvatamāḥ(-ā *ṛ́tāva(n)tamāḥ* (?))] ; — katᶜáṁ] sádā (kíla, sahá) yávasena [*dᶜānávatā tásyāḥ(-ā) hetóḥ(-r)] gódᶜāyaç-ča ((-āi'v-)eváṁ) tvákšīyān* [vaḥ(-o) ásīt(-d), ávidyata] ; —

(c) káṁ *se [asyāí gáve, tásyā(ḥ) hetóḥ(-s), tadártᶜam ásuram] ušṭá((-ā̀-), adᶜyákuruta-ča (-á-)) ásuram*, [evá tat-táraṇá'rtᶜaṁ tatᶜávīryaṁ], yáḥ (-ò'd-) adáḥ sáhaḥ(-s) tátᶜā)-durvṛttāíḥ(-r) (ā-ūḍᶜám (o'ḍᶜám) utpannáṁ-ča(-ā-)amúm)**éšmaṁ-ča (-āi-) (etávanti-ča víçvāni, svayám eváṁ pratibādᶜanena) nivadᶜáyet.

[(Alternative for (c) : *káṁ se *((')syāí) asyāí gáve tásyāḥ(-ā) hetóḥ, kám) ušṭā-*[1](-á-) ásuram, [(íti*, pahlavi-bᶜāšyam ánučarya,

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*1 *ušṭā* as 'Vedic' loc. sg. of an *ušṭi*, to *vaš* 'be eager' so here; but see Whitney. I still prefer *uštā* as the verbal form ** No fully accented types.

The Gēush Tashan.*1

2. Upon this *Gēush Tashan*, the Herd's Fashioner, asked of Asha (Archangel of the Law) : How (was) thy guardian regulator* for the Herd-Cow (appointed) ; —

(b) when, (as) having-power (over all her* fate), ye-fashioned her ; — (in what manner was there provided) for her, together-with-pasture, a cattle Chief (both) skilled-and-energetic ; —

(c) whom did ye select*2 (as her) life's master, who might smite back the Demon-Fury of the Faithless.

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*1 Ahura certainly 'fashioned' the Kine at Y. 51, 7, *tašō*, etc. ; see the same root-form used ; — how is it, then, that He is not the '*Tashan Gēush*' here ? Notwithstanding this difficulty it is safest to accept an adumbration of a later Demiurge in this place ; compare the Socratic concept. This idea intrudes here precisely on account of the dualistic 'elements' of suffering indicated ; — Ahura so decisively recoils from all responsibilily for evil that a *Tashan Gēush* hovers even here, over His acts of creation, though He, Ahura, was conccived of as being the originator of the 'good' creation only.

*2 Or 'what salvation-lord ?', — so the Pahl.

(kíla, kám ásuraṁ pary-ávṛṇudᶜvaṁ tásyāḥ(-ā) váçam, abᶜiprāyaṁ ča (-āi-) eṭávat tayá svayám abᶜilāšitaṁ(-tān), -ṛtúpatiṁ tat-saṁpūráyantaṁ tat-táraṇa-prápti-bᶜaktimantam [ávaçata, upāyam upastᶜāpáyantam, āiçvaram, ítyādikam.... kám etávantam puráḥ(-ó'dᶜ-)ádᶜatta ?....)].

Ṛta-yajatáḥ prati-brávīti.

3. Asmāí [sá(ḥ) yajatáḥ(-ta) ṛtávatamaḥ*1 (-a (?)) *ṛtáva(n)tamaḥ(-a)] ṛténa*2 (práti(-y-)ábravīt), [(kíla (-ar-) ṛtáṁ svayám evá, paurušá-yajatá-bᶜāvam-iva čétasā(-á-) áropya)] : — néd ṛtú-patiḥ(-ç) çiro-hā*3 [çírogᶜātakaḥ, (sarjáḥ(?-a) íti, srášṭā-vā(-á-)] ádvešaḥ(-o) gáve, práti(-y) ábravīt ; —

(b) amíšāṁ néd vidé* (sánti(-y-) amúni) yéna (yébᶜiḥ(-ç)) čyāvayate* (-čyāváyanti-vā) ādᶜrāṁ* ṛšvásaḥ- : — [atᶜā-vā (sutravā-čanāyāṁ vikṛtáyāṁ(-ç) tú (tvè*-) eváṁ) : — néd vidé yáni čyāváyanti(-y) átᶜāraḥ, (kíla (-ā-) agnáyaḥ (-a (?)) ṛšvásaḥ**)]4 ; —

(c) Satám asāú (-áv) ójišṭᶜaḥ(-ṭᶜó'š-) Ásuraḥ(-o)*] yásmāi hávān gámāmi* čakrúšā (sahá-,** kṛtúšā-vā (-ā-) aháṁ) ; — [(tátᶜā (-ar-) ṛtáṁi[5] yajatá-púruša-vat(-d) íšyā-(e'v-)iva sahá, samaná (-ar-) íšyā sva-hávāṁ kṛdᶜúnā(?) váčasā-(-é-) (íti kadáčid-(-t-č-) čakrúšā-, tátᶜā (-ar-) ṛta--yajatáḥ*5 práty-ábravīt)].

[(Alternative treatment : asmāí(-ā-) ṛténa néd(-t)* sarjáḥ(-já (?) íti, kíla srášṭā-vā*6 (-á-) ádvešaḥ gáve praty ábravīt ; —

(b) amíšāṁ néd vidé yéna (yáni-vā) čyāváyanti(-y)* ādarāṁ* (*átᶜṛn-vā) (-ar) *ṛšvásaḥ ; —

(c) satám asāú (-áv* ójišṭᶜaḥ(-ṭᶜo) yásmāi hávāṁ**(?) āgámāḥ (?) (-ā) íti, kíla, (-ā*-)*āgáččᶜantaḥ sánti, (-ty íti), kíla(-ā*-) ā-gámanti (-mān)) čakṛváṁsaḥ)*** ; — (-Aty-ásambᶜāvitaṃ eváṁ madmatyā(-matāú) tú nūnáṁ dṛçyáte).

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*1 *Aša* (*A(r)ša*)* semi-personified, yet expressing emphatically the interior meaning of the word.

*2 *A(r)šā** is instrumental with inherent nominative, 'he with *A(r)šā*', this, possibly on account of *A(r)šem** being neuter, which gender would not be so well adapted to the subject as speaker. **Otherwise accented types fail us.

Asha Answers.

3. To him (Asha, Archangel of the Holy Law) answered with (his) sanctity-of-truth*1 : (great was our perplexity) : — a chief (who was capable of) smiting-back*2 (their Fury, and who was himself) without-hate (exempt from its passions and the sufferings of the conflict, was) not (to be obtained by us) ; —

(b) of those (things these) are not to be known, (even by beings such as we, which are the influences which determine that) wherewith the lofty ones treat the afflicted*3 (— or ' what things of destiny the lofty fires*4 move ') ; —

(c) of beings He*5 is mightiest*, to whom (even) I (-as representing the Holy Priest of the Assembly and the Saints), — even I*6 am coming with-that-one who has performed his invocations*7 ; — [(Thou, O *Gēush Tashan*, First Agent of Ahura, — thou hast no need to ask)] ; —

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*1 *Ašā* instrumental with a verb of speech should invariably equal ' with truth '.

*2 Or reading ' *sarjaḥ* = *srašṭā* ', a maker (?).

*3 Reading Skt. *ād'rān*.

*4 Or reading Av. *āδrēñg*. ((?) acc. for nom. Or, again ' how the lofty ones move the fires (on high) '.

*5 That Ahura was this ' mightiest ' one rather than the wailing *Gēush Urvan* (*Ruvan*), is obvious both from the context and from Y. 41, which plainly refers to this place ; see the fuller notes below.

*6 [(or ' of Beings he is mightiest to whom those who have performed their invocations are coming ')].

*7 Aside from the connection with *Zaraθuštra*, *jimā* would be unmistakeably a 1st sg. conj. act.

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*3 For Av. *sarjā*,* *sar(o)-jā*,* *sar(a)jā* ; cp. *vereθrem-jā* ; — otherwise a *sarjáḥ* (?), *srášṭā*, to Sk. *sṛj*, *sarj*, but see *har(e)z* already = *sṛj*, *sarj* ; — *har(e)z* is not, indeed, Gāthic. Ind. **çirog'ātakaḥ* would literally correspond.

*4 Or read ' *agníṅ ṛšvān* ' * ; consider also *ādarān*, ' execute their purposes '.

*5 Possibly the *Gēush Urvan* (*Ruvan*) (?) here speaks, at 3, c.

*6 Av. *sarjā*.

4. Mahādáḫ* (sumedᶜáḫ*(-á-vā) çásanāni (çáṅsān-vā)*¹ smáriṣṭᶜaḫ (-ṭᶜa(-é-) íti, kíla bᶜúyišṭᶜam adᶜikaṁ smárati)] yáni-ča hí (ā)vavṛjé *pári-čid(-t), (kíla puráčid(-t)), — [(kíla (-ā-) amúni çásanāni saṁsmaráyati(-y) (Ásuraḫ(-o) yéšām ártᶜaḫ*(-o'bᶜ-), abᶜiprāyáḫ(-á)*, etávat(-d) mahāprabᶜāváḫ(-á) gurvártᶜāç-ča (ā)varjayám, *utpādayāṁ(-vā)-čakriré, saṁpūrṇáḫ(-ā)—babᶜúšuḫ, *pári-čit, (kíla purá-čid*)]

(b) devāíç-ča (bᶜautikāiḫ(-r) [(íty evám, kíla, devá-pūjakāiḫ-(-r))] mártyāiç-ča [(-ar-) ṛtávabᶜiḫ(-r)], yáni-ča (çásanāni) vṛkšate** (āvṛkšanta**, kíla, (-ā-) abᶜisaṁkarišyánte, saṁpūrayišyante ('pí), *apí-čid(-t-), (kíla paçčāt(-č)-čid) ; —

(c) asāú vivikváṁ** A'suraḫ(-ó-) átᶜā naḫ [nó's-) ásat(-d) yátᶜā (-ā-) asāú-(-áv) ávaçat (vaçat(-d)-vā)*², — [(kíla tátᶜā gátiḫ(-r) utpannā naḫ (nó'sat) ásat(-d);—asmad-abᶜiprāyaḫ(-ó-'tᶜ-) átᶜā(-ā-) abᶜisaṁbᶜavišyáte(-a) upapādayišyáte-ča yátᶜā (-ā-) asāú vaçat(-d)*², abᶜyanuçāsāt, vyavastᶜāpáyet, praṇešyáti ...)].

Jaraθuštra.

5. át(-d) vaḫ (-a) (āvám)*¹ uttanāíḫ(-r) ásva*¹[(anáyoḫ (-or) ásvoḫ*²(-or) dváyoḫ(-or) hetór-vā (éty evám)] — hástāiḫ prīṇānāú [(āváṁ dvāú(-á) ubᶜāú(-á) (ubᶜé), kíla prārtᶜáyamānāu (-á)-ásva)] ásuṛāya (-á-), [ásurāt prārtᶜáyāvahi-vā)],

(b) me(-a) ātmá, góç- ča ((-ā-) ātmá (góḫ(-ór)) (ā-)jāyáyāḫ(-ā)*³ yát sumedᶜásaṁ prot(-d-)ásahāvahi*⁴ (dvayéna vā*⁵) pṛččᶜābᶜiḫ (-ir) : —

(c) néd ṛju-jīváya parājayáḫ (-o'-s-) [asat ; (kila, ned ṛju-jīvásya(-vam) (pra-)jyá (-ā-) avapátet ; kíla má parājayaḫ(-o) vināçaḫ(-ç)-ča viçvátaḫ] *paçuyáte[((-a) íti, paçumáte (-a) ṛtávane táṁ

*1 Cp. *çásman*. nt. = 'hymn', the suffix *-man* being closely related to *-van*.
*2 Improper augmentless conj. *anuvid'āšyati*.

4. Mazda (is Himself) most mindful*1 of the uttered-and-inspired-indications-and-commands*2 which have been brought-to-effect beforehand-hitherto

(b) in (the deeds of) Demon-(worshippers*3) and of (faithful)*4 men, (and of those) which shall be fulfilled (by them) hereafter;

(c) He, Ahura, is the discerning-arbiter; so shall it be to us, as he shall*5 will(-there is no need to ask).

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*1 And 'more fully revealing', 'declaring', or 'reciting'.

*2 What Ahura 'bore in mind' of itself expresses the very highest and holiest of divine indications, perhaps prophetic here.

*3 It is better to take *d(a)ēvāiš* in this sense.

*4 So also better; — see Y. 48, 1.

*5 So as improper conj. 'He will determine'; — or 'he has determined, *āvāsat* (pret.), i.e. He will 'execute', or 'has executed', our laws, of just judgment as of immoveable destiny. There lurks here evidently an early forecast of 'predestination'; but 'judgment' must have been first idea intended to be expressed.

Zarathushtra.*1

5. (a, b) Therefore will we both, — my* soul* and that of the Mother*1 Cow, be*2 praying, with outstretched hands, to Ahura, while we two press*3 Mazda* with questions (in our doubt;*4 — and He will answer) : — not for the righteous liver, nor for the (saintly) Herd-breeder-of-the-tillage, (shall there be) destruction* together with* the faithless.

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*1 Cp. *jāyá*.

*2 *Áśvā*, reading Av. *ahvā*. Not so the Pahl. trl.; read *ahvāo**, if preferred accordingly.

*3 Reading *duvaidī* as 1st dual to a **dav-*.

*4 Or reading '*dvayéna*' in the text = Av. *dvaidī*; consider an ind. ***dvid'yá*, or ***dvad'yá*; see *dvidhā*; cp. for form *ād'ī́*; so the Pahl. indicates.

práti ; — má vināçaḥ paçu-rákšiṇaṁ kṛšīvalaṁ samabᶜipátāt(-d)) durvṛttešu (pāpéšu) pári [(-y) íti, kíla (-á-), -á, -abᶜí durvṛttešu(-v) antár-vā)].

Amplification of line b.

; — [(kíla me(-a) ātmá, (ātmá) góḥ(-ç-ča) (sárva-sādᶜú** (-ū-) upakaraṇāni hitáni-ča) jánitryā(ḥ), yát(-d) mahādᶜáṁ (sumedᶜá-

*1 That *Zarathushtra* speaks here is aiso evident from strophe 6 ; — *Asha* could hardly here, again, immediately, represent the Holy People ; — see the expression ' my soul ' as elsewhere referring to Z. ; see Y. 44, 8 ; 50, 1, etc. An original pair, ' the souls of the Mother-Cow and the Bull ' are hardly the speakers here ; though a bizarre association of ideas should not repel us,

*2 *Ahvā* = *āsva*, as 1st dual conj. *act. of aḥ(-s).* ; — or read *ahvāo** = *ásvoḥ*

Ásura.

6. Át(-d) ávočat(-d) ásuraḥ(-o) mahādᶜáḥ [(sumedᶜáḥ (-á vā) sá(ḥ)] vidván *vápuḥ sva-víviktyā, — [(-é-) íti *vápuḥ(ç) çábda-múla-dárçaṇa(-á-)-ártᶜaṁ, tátᶜā-mátram evám, kíla (-ā-) átᶜā mántram ávočat(-d) ásuraḥ, (sáḥ (so 'sm-) asma-dᶜarma-dᶜyānaṁ, mahártᶜaṁ, mūlād-ārabᶜya jnáḥ(-s) ; — tad-ártᶜam ávočat sva-víviktyā víçva-vidá ((-é-) íti)] :

(b) néd ékaḥ(-o), (néd evá-va) ásuḥ, [(kíla néd ékaḥ (-ó'su-) ásu-patiḥ(-r))] máhyaṁ vittáḥ(-ó), néd ṛtúḥ (kíla néd ṛtú-patiḥ(-r)) ṛtát-čid(-t) sáčā((-ar-) ṛté sáčā(-ar-), ṛténa sahá) ; [(kíla, néd ṛtú-patiḥ(-r) ṛténa sahá naḥ(-a) upakṛṇván vidyáte)] ; — (c) āt(-d) hí tᶜvā (tᶜvám ṛtú-patiṁ) **psuyáte((-a) íti, kíla kṛšīvaláya paçumáte (-a) (ṛtávane) tváštā (dᶜātá-vā) tatvákša*1((-ā-) aháṁ).*2

*1 The accent only from *tatákša.*

*2 Possibly a 3d. sg.

saṁ-vā(-á-) ásuram) āváṁ dvāú (ubᶜāú (-āv) ubᶜé), me(-a) ātmá, góç ča (-ā-) ātmá, (prot(-d-)-ásahāvahi niyáyuñjvahi-ča*-(protsahāvahi niyuñjvahi-vā))* dvayéna,* — [(kíla (-ā-), asma--mánaç-čittyártᶜa-dvayé(-'s-) ásuraṁ prot(-d-)ásahāvahi) praçnāíḥ sumedᶜásam ásuraṁ prārtᶜáyamānāu(-v) āváṁ(-s), tátᶜā saṁprayáčantāu, kíla yátᶜā (-e-) (ihá (-ā-) anugáččᶜati(-āt), prārtᶜáyāvahi, — íty ādi-)].

= 'for the two worlds'; recall Y. 28, 2; this last *ahvāo** is not rendered in the Pahl., nor yet *ahvā* = *áśva*; see Gāthas at the place.

*3 Or 'while (we two pray) for wisdom (?) (so *Mazdãm* here (?)) in our doubt'; — this latter 'in our doubt' is the only rendering in the Pahl.

*4 So the Pahl.; or 'not further life' (?) 'among the evil' (?; — hardly).

*5 Not so naturally 'on the part of the faithless' which would require the instr. rather than this loc. (These notes apply redundantly to strophe 5, on pp. 7, 8, 9, 10).

Ahura.

6. Upon this spake Ahura Mazda, the Life-Spirit-Lord, the-Great-Creator,*1-He-who-understands the-mysterious-grace*2 through-(his)-insight; —

(b) Not a single*3 sacred-world-Lord (is) found (for us) here, nor a spiritual-Chief (appointed) in-accordance-with-Asha*4, (Archangel of the Law, and inspired by His Sanctity and Truth); —

(c) therefore Thee have-I-established,*5 (as such an one) for-the-diligent-herd-breeder, (the saintly-tiller-of-the-ground).

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*1 Or 'the Wise One'.

*2 Or '(that) destruction', so with the Pahl.; see *frājyāitiš* in 5.

*3 So, reading *aēvō*; or 'thus, reading Av. '*aēvā*' = *evá*, so the Pahl. translator here.

*4 Or simply 'moved by Sanctity and Righteousness'. See S. B. E. XXXI., at the place.

*5 Or 'he Asha', 3d. sg. (?), or, again, 'the *Gēush Ruvan*' (?) 'has established'.

Góḥ(-s) Táštā

7. Tám áhuteḥ(-r) ásuraḥ(-o) mántram átakšat(-d) ṛténa sajóšaḥ, (b) (sá(ḥ)) mahādᶜáḥ (sumedᶜáḥ(-á vā) gáve kšú-ča*1 [(-é't-) íti çabda-kalpa-(-ā-)-anukṛty-ártᶜaṁ, tátᶜā mátram evám; kíla sáḥ (só-t-) átakšat pásu-bᶜójanaṁ (gav-ādi-bᶜójanaṁ)] -asāú **jahvarvádbᶜyaḥ(-ç)*2 çvāntáḥ(-ç) çásanāni [(íti viçešataḥ(-ç)-çábdakalpā' nukṛtyártᶜaṁ, nítyaṁ, púnar ápi(-y) evám, — kíla gavādi-bᶜójanaṁ bᶜoktṛbᶜyaḥ(-yó't-) átakšat saḥ(-a) çvāntáḥ(-ç) çásanāni (çáṁsena-vā)]; (c) káḥ(-s) te(-tátᶜā tvám pṛččᶜámi-, káḥ(-s) te) vásuna mánasā*3 (syát(-d) yá(ḥ) imáni (çásanāni, imán(-ñ) çáṁsān-vā) deyát(-d) (sam-ud-āhárát(-išyáti) āsá-vā*4 mártebᶜyaḥ.

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*1 *kšú* = 'food' supposed to be associated with *gᶜas* = 'to eat'.

*2 *Hvō-uruš(a)eibyō* of the Mss = *hvaruš(a)eibyō*, unreduplicated perfect (— hvarvádbᶜyaḥ —), an irregularity to-a; see the singular — *ušę*. The *-ō-* of *hvō-* derives from an epenthesis with the *u* of the irregular perfect termination; — so, for an *hvaru-*. Cp. for form only *jvar, jval*.

*3 A voc. would be here glaringly out of place; see also the Av. form.

*4 Roth read Av. *āvā*.

Ásura.

8. Ayáṁ me(-a) ihá vittáḥ(-ó) [ṛtú-patiḥ(-r)] yáḥ(-ó) naḥ(-a) ekaká(ḥ) (evá) çásanāni (çáṁsān-vā) áçṛṇuta [(á-) áçṛṇot(-d)], (b) Jaratᶜušṭraḥ(-s) Spitāmaḥ (-o's-); — asāú naḥ, [kíla, máhyaṁ], mahādᶜé (sumedᶜáse-vā) vášṭi(-ir-) ṛtáya-ča (c) čarkṛtíḥ(-ç) çravayádᶜyāi (vášṭi) — yát (yátaç-ča tárhi) íty evám se (-'sm-)asmāí) *sudámam (íti) dátave (vaçmi, asmāí *sudámaṁ dāsyámi) váktrasya.

Amplifications of lines b and c.

-[(čarkṛtíḥ(-r), íti çabdá-kalpa(-ā-)anukāraṁ evám; — çabdamūla-bᶜāvavat tú (tv) : ' asmat-krátu-kāra-váčaṣāṁsi(-y) (íti

The Gēush Tashan.*1

7. Mazda has (indeed) created the *manthra*-(Inspired-Word-of-Reason), which is a *manthra* of fatness,*2 Asha (Archangel of the Holy-Law,*3 consenting-with (him in his deed) ; —

(b) Fodder*4 He-has-prepared for-the(-the Cow)- ; that is to say, for the Herd, and food) for-the-(-human-)-eaters,*5 He*6 bounteous*7 with (this)-doctrinal-command ; —

(c) but-who is there for-thee (O Gēush-ruvan, or for thee, O Asha), who may (inspired) by-Vohumanah*8 (-Archangel of the Good Mind), give forth those (commands) by mouth*9 to-mortals?

*1 See strophe 2.
*2 ' Of sacred-rich-abundance ', and ' of fulness for the sacrifice '.
*3 ' Just righteousness ' personified as His Campanion.
*4 Hardly ' milk ' (?), ' milk ' would be useless as food for the mature cattle.
*6 Hardly ' He-himself '.
*7 So for safety, others ' He, holy ', — to which I do not object.
*8 An instr. is urgently necessary ; a voc. would be badly out of place,
*9 With others ' for us both ' reading ' *āvā* ' referring to the supposed original Cattle-pair, the ' Bull ' and ' Cow ' being the speakers (?).

Ahura.*1

8. Such-an-one is found for me here who alone*2 has hearkened to our doctrinal-enunciations,

(b) Zarathushtra Spitāma, — He desires to enounce for us, (for me) Mazdā*3 (the-Life-Spirit-Lord) and for Asha (Archangel of my truth-Law)

*1 Or possibly Asha speaks, as the Personified Truth-Law of Ahura,
*2 ' He alone has received the doctrinal revelation, to urge it upon willing acceptance '.
*3 Mazdā, a voc. would be here badly out of place.

kadáčid(-t))(-č)) çravayádᶜyāi vašṭi' ; — [(kíla, tad-ártᶜaṁ J. S., tásya viçeša-çrešṭᶜatāyāḥ(-ā) hetór, asmái pramāṇaṁ mad-váčasāṁ mad-dᶜárma-pátᶜa-vi-nir-diçátāṁ, (pra)kᶜyāpana-gᶜošaṇāpramāṇam asmāí máyā nūnám ihá níhitam ; — asmāí stᶜānaṁča tatᶜābᶜūtam upastaṁbᶜaṁ-ča tásmin(-t-) stᶜāne*(-a), idánīm evá, dádāmi)].

Góḥ(-r) Átmá.

9. Át(-č)-ča góḥ (gór) ātmá (-á-) árodata (árudda*[1](?)) yáḥ(-ó) (ahám, aho ! ṛtúpatim)* áçūram *ánešam (íti máhyaṁ (madhetóḥ) **ksánmane (-a-) [(íti) mat-pakšapātaṁ máhyam atiduḥkᶜine)] árādᶜam (ādadᶜe) ; — (b) váčam (íti) náraḥ(-ó'ç-) *áçūrasya, [(kíla, pravačanaṁ náraḥ(-o) asma-tāraṇártᶜaṁ dᶜarma-nyāyam alpa-bálena prakāçáyataḥ (-o-))], yám á váçmi [(-y) ṛtú-patim] *éša-kšátraṁ [çúram]! ; — (c) -kadā yāvana**-kālāṁ (kadā'pi(-y)) asāú(-áv) ásat(-d) [vetsyáte] yáḥ(-s)* se ((-'sy-)asyāí gáve) dadāt(-d) (dehyát, — dāsyáti) hástavat(-d) ávaḥ.

Amplifications in a.

... [(íti, kíla(-ā-)' aho ! ṛtú-patim etávantaṁ máhyaṁ kšīyámānāya dadᶜe, sane ; patíṁ paravaçaṁ, sva-vaçaṁ na kadá'pi saṁprāpṇuvantam *avamānanīyaṁ tátᶜāvidᶜaṁ mátram evá, má-

*1 Cp. for form only an *árudd'a* to 2d. *rud'* (this is to illustrate the continuous dentals, Av. *r(a)osta* = *r(a)otta* ; Av. *-tt* = Av. *-st*.

(c) our completed-designs-and-works-of-grace *1; — wherefore I will give him the firm-position*2 of authoritative-speech.*3

*1 So inclusively; see Gāthas, to *kar* = 'to commemorate'.
*2 Others, after Roth, the 'attractiveness'.
*3 Or 'of a speaker'.

The Herd's Soul.

9. Upon this Gēush Ruvan, the Herd's Soul, lamented: (Woe is unto me —), since I have obtained for my wounding*1 a Lord who is impotent-to-effect-his-wish, —

(b) the (mere) voice of a non-heroic man, (as) against whom I desire one-who-is-Lord-over-his-will — (and able as one of royal*2 caste to bring his purpose to effect); —

(c) *3When shall he ever appear who may bring to her (to me myself)*3 help strong handed. —

*1 Cp. for full discussion Gāthas Comm. p. 428, folg. (1892-94) also S. B. E. XXXI., at the place (1887).
*2 Is a *Khshathriya* caste (?) here foreshadowed.
*3 Some introduce here another speaker, the *Gēush Tashan*; see strophe 2.

hyaṁ (mad-hetóḥ(-s)) svapakšī(-y)-ákṛṇom (-čakára, -kariśyámi... In c. [— çabda-yāvaná-(-é-) íti, kalpā'-nukṛtyartᶜa-mátram evám tátᶜā nítyaṁ púnar ápi; kíla kadá sarva-kālám asáu kṛšīvalápatiḥ(-r) ásat (kíla(-ā-) ādrakšyáte((-a), íty ādikam)] —

10. Yūyám eb^{c}yáḥ(-ó), hayé* ásura, ójaḥ(-o) dattá, he*. ṛtá, kšatráṁ-ča [kíla ksátra-ča(-āi-)] (b) etávat(-d) vásunā mánasā yéna su-kšitīḥ(-ç)-ča rámaṁ-ča*[1] dāt, [kíla yéna (-ar-) ṛtú-patiḥ(-r) ānandáṁ dāt(-d)], (c) aháṁ-čid asyá, hayé* máhād^{c}āḥ, (súmed^{c}-aḥ(-o)-vā), tváṁ maṅsi pūrvyáṁ védam,*[2] [íti, kíla, pūrvyáṁ védītāram]*[3].

*1 So in *su-rāma, rāmā.*

*2 *véda,* and cp. *védaḥ(-s)*.

*3 So, in this sense in R. V. 712, 11 (VIII., 103, 11) : *úditā yó nídītā véditā vásv á yajñíyo vavártati.*,.

strophe ; — the abstract moral idea is always present, with graduated objectivity and intensified expression of rhetorical personification ; see S. B. E. XXXI., at the places.

*4 Not a voc. !

*5 See Strophe 1. and the following.

*6 ' eveh I ' (?), — ' I in every way '.

*7 First Knower (?). (continuation of notes from page 16).

11. Kūtaḥ (-o) ṛtám (íti kíla kútaḥ(-o), hayé)* ṛtá)], vásu-ča mánaḥ kšatráṁ-ča, (kíla) (hayé kšátra-ča(-ā-) át(-d) (íd(?))) mā (kíla mám á) makšūgamáḥ(-s) (st^{c}á, (-e't-) íti, kíla, hayé* yúyaṁ, kútaḥ(-o) mám á makšūjavasaḥ(o-) gámat^{c}a).

[(-Íti(-y), — atyásaṁb^{c}avitam, atisamdeha-padaḥ(-s), tú madmátyā (mátāu (?)) sa(ḥ) b^{c}āšárt^{c}aḥ(-o) nunáṁ návaṁ dṛçyáte-(-'n-) ; — anyásyāṁ téna sútravāčanāyāṁ* (vásvyāṁ-ča (-á-) ápi kadáčid) upagṛhītáyāṁ vikalpena b^{c}āšām (ántarī)-kṛṇávā-mahāi ; kíla : (a)... Kútaḥ(-o) ; haye* ṛta, vásu-ča mánaḥ, kšátra-ča (gámat^{c}a) : — át(-d) vaḥ(-o)) makšūjavaḥ(-o) gámāmi(-y) ahám)

Zarathushtra.

10. Unto these*1 (to whose woes *Gēush Ruvan* here gives voice), do ye, O Ahura and Asha,*2 grant both gladness and Khshathra*3 (as the Sovereign Power),

(b) such as may be established with Vohumanah,*4 (Benevolence, Archangel of the Good Mind), whereby (that Authority) may secure the peaceful-amenities-of-home and joyful-happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer) ;*5 —

(c) (for) of these things, O Thou Mazda, I ever*6 thought Thee first possessor*7 (imparting them to Thy Saints).

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*1 The Holy Tribes.

*2 Or ' with Thy Truth-Law ' ; a voc. might require a dual verb.

*3 Notice the extreme difficulty in recognising ' personification ' here at all. — Others who render *Asha, Vohumanah*, translating as if they were mere proper names, here in the same hymn, render ' Sovereignty ' with lost notification of any personification ; — this is, however, illogical ; — if personification is adumbrated in one place, il cannot be totally absent from another in the same piece, or

The composer of the hymn.

11. When*1 shall Asha (Archangel of the Truth-Law) Vohumanah (Ahura's, and His People's Good Mind), and Khshathra (Angel of the Sovereign-might of God and the Holy State) (come) hastening*2 indeed,*3 (= *id*) to me (for my help in the

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*1 Or ' whence ' ; see the Gāthas at the place.

*2 Some would read ' *mašā* ' = ' O men ', so, perhaps, following former authority. ' O Mazda, and O Men ' ! (*sic*) would seem an unusual Gāthic association of ideas ; — which is also not so probable in view of the form *mašyāoṅhō**, Y. 30. 11 ; — so abrupt a change of form is not impossible, far from it ; but it is *not* so *probable*.

*3 I think that *aṭ* must equal an *iṭ* = Skt. *id, it*.

(tátᶜā(-é't-) ítyādi... avesta-sútra-váčanāyāṁ 'māmašā*1' (-é-) íti (-y) upagṛhītáyām-)]...

(b) Yūyáṁ, hayé súmedᶜaḥ (máhādā(ḥ)-vā) asmat-prajñáya*2 (asma-pṛkšé-vā*3) mahé magᶜáya (á) (mat-pṛkšé) pratijānata,

(c) hayé* ásura nú naḥ [pratijānata(-á-)] ávaḥ (-o's-) asmábᶜiḥ* (-s) (svayám, asmad-hetór etávat(-d) prārtᶜitam, ávaḥ(-o) asmad-hetór) rātéḥ(-ér bahú-pradáyā(ḥ) mahártᶜāyāç-ča) yušmávatām**—

[(Íti, vikalpa-bᶜāšāvat- tú : hayé* ásura nú naḥ(-o'v-) áva(ḥ) ásma (1st pl. impf. conj. used) rātéḥ (bᶜaktivánaḥ(-o)) yušmávatām (íti, sútravāčanayā 'ēhmā' ásma anekāíḥ (-r) adyā' pi (-yabᶜívṛtáyā)].

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*1 *sūtravačane 'māmašā' (-é'ti) íti(-y) upagṛhīté.* 'O ye men!' *tatᶜā(-ā-) anekā(-ḥ) evám.*

*2 Cp. *ājñā.*

*3 Cp. *pṛkšé* 'in fulness' (*prakš, pṛkš*), so 'to repletion'; see the Pahl. *kabed.*

*4 As ind. *asmé* may be loc. or dat. (W.) so Av *ēhmāi* might be dat., or Av. *ēhmā* instr.

Some further remarks in regard to the alternative translations.

Strophe 1, line 'b', *kíla, á mā (mắm) éša-héḍaḥ(-da-á) sišāya...*; — so, some writers following long previous authority, to *si* = 'to bind' plus *á* = 'to entangle', as 'the claws of a bird'; (see R.V. X., 28. 10); *suparṇá itt'á nakᶜám á sišāyá' varuddᶜaḥ paripádaṁ ná siṁháḥ.* This is obviously, however, somewhat far-fetched when considered as the corresponding idea here, where 'attack' rather than 'impediment' is fully indicated, while an *asikšayā* has good support from *asidᶜārā*, etc. The Pahl. trl. inclines to active violence or 'attack'. See Gāthas at the place.

*2 *vastā*. As to a *vastā* (?) = 'clother', i. e. for the 'clothing the meadow with verdure', it is used merely to reproduce externally the Avesta form, *vāstā* = 'pasturer'; for one can with

Great committed Work) ? ; — [(or ' whence, O Asha, Vohumanah and Khshathra (are ye coming) ; verily I hasten (to meet You) '] : —

b and *c*) Do ye, O Ahura Mazda, (Life-Spirit-Lord, the Great Creator), (or 'Thou Wise One', with Thine Attributes)) ; — do ye now assign to us, for instruction* (or ' in full abundance') for (our) great Cause, your aid ; — may we be*1+2 now (partakers) of the bounty (meet) for Your Faithful-and-Your Equals : — [(or ' assign Ye Your aid for us, (*ēhmāi* = ind. *asmé*), (the aid) of the bounty of Your Faithful')].

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*1 Reading *ēhmā*, Roth. as = ind. *asma*, ' may we be '.

*2 Another ' so will we prepare ourselves to serve your equals ' (rather modern).

* See for elaborate discussion Gāihas, pp. 20-36, 410-431, and S. B. E., XXXI. pp. 3-13.

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difficulty believe that a separate Avesta root *vah*, *vāh*, (or *vas*, *vās*) = ' to fodder ' existed ; — while, on the other hand, ' clothing ' the meadow, as ' with verdure ', is difficult, not looking sufficiently primitive as a form of expression. A secondary idea of ' nurture ' as having grown gradually from that of ' clothing ' and not as used directly in a figurative sense, meaning ' husbanding ', ' cherishing ' would lie here nearer. I had also thought of *vāstavyaḥ* as = ' inhabitant '. An original *vāṭ-*, cp. *vāṭa* has been suggested as ' *weide* ' = ' meadow ' plus a suffix-*tar*. This certainly looks very interesting, — a ' *t* ' before a following ' *t* ' goes over to ' *s* ' in the Avesta, *vāṭa* as = *vāṭ-*(?) plus-*tar* would correspond to Av. *vāstar*, yet ' *ṭ* ', has different relations from those of ' *t* ', and ind. *vāṭa* is not a very old word. At all events our word means ' nurturer-from-the-fields ', see *vāstryā* and also the Pahl. as interpreted by the Sanskrit.

Strophe 2. *[1]*A(r)šā* is in the instrumental with what I have called its ' inherent nominative ' ; — ' He with A(r)ša ', — this on account of the fact that *a(r)šem* is a neuter ; and a neuter nowhere becomes so readily a subject to a verb of speech, or of action in very primitive compositions : that is to say, not without some explaining elements.

*[2] *Sarj*, *srj*, has been seen here by Roth, while we have to recall that *har(e)z* corresponds to Indian *sarj* elsewhere, in the later Avesta. We should, however, gladly welcome exceptional occurrences, if only as indicating desirable emendations of texts, for few of all possible texts as they have been handed down to us, with such ancient matter, can be actually in their original condition. An Av. *har(e)štā(-tar)* would suit admirably here ; — yet *çirohán* has also good analogies ; cp. a *çirogᶜāta* to *han*, which would be almost the same word ; — see also *gᶜātaka*, and form a *çirogᶜātaka* = *çiraḥ(-s)* plus the other form of *han* ; see also *çiraçčᶜeda*, *çiroduḥka*, etc.

Strophe 3. *[1] *Vidé*, as here accented, belongs rather to the second *vid* ; — but this word is even more difficult to distinguish from its related form in the Avesta than in the Indian.

*[2] *Čyāváyanti*, as the causative act. is so used for safety, as *čyu* has only apparently its semi-transitive sense in the Veda, in the view of some scholars ; cp. Ṛ. V. I, 165, 10, ...*yáni čyávam índra íd īsa ešām* ' auf was ich sturtze das hat auch Indra in seinem Gewalt ', while another has ' I, Indra, am the Lord of what I ruined ' (*sic*). Aside from the strong Vedic analogies *šavatę* might be a 3rd pl. med. to the 2nd conjugation, — stem *čyu* + *-ate* equal à *čyavatę* ; — recall Ved. *kšnu*, *kšṇāuti* to the 2nd conjugaison ; *nu*, *nū*, *nāuti* (to praise) to the second conjugation, *tu*, *tāuti* = ' be strong ', *duhatc*, 3rd pl. med., *dhuváte*, 3rd pl. (' to shake '), *hūte* 3rd sg. med., all in ' *u* ', *ū*, and to the second conjugation.

*3 *Ādrēñg*, see notes above, to *ādharān*, *adarān*, (?) or mis-written for ; see the Pahlavi translation.

(6) *4 *Ṛšvāsaḥ* for *crešvāoñhō*. Some would rather see the idea of ' justice ' here, rendering ' just '.

(5) *Hvō*. As I have already suggested, in the Gāthas ; see the Dictionary, we may have here a relic of velarisation ; otherwise an adapted ' *Hvō* = *sváḥ*, or again consider *hva* + *u* ' (?).

*6 *Hātām*[*1] ... *aojištô*. With regard to this most important question, that of the application of *hātām** *aojištô* in 3, whether to Ahura or to Him as especially represented by His *Tashan Gēush*, the Cow's Fashioner. Here we have had most curiously a somewhat startling suggestion, — that this *hātām*[*1] *aojištō* = ' greatest of beings ' is after all the Kine's wailing Soul. If, however, we are to accede to the high authority of the *Haptaṅghaiti* at Y. 41.5,8,11, (Sp.), one of the oldest pieces next after the Gāθas, that question is in so far settled at once, -*Mazda ahura* occurs in the voc. at Y. 41,5, (Sp.), at 8 and at 11, and he, *Ahura*, is addressed as the *hātām*[*1] *hudastemā*, three times within that narrow space, while there can be little doubt that the expression was suggested by our Y. 29,3, *hātām*[*1] *hvō aojištō* ; — See also Y. 44,10, where *hātām** cannot mean ' of animals '. We must indeed allow all fair play to the possibility of exceptional applications of words and sentences ; — yet how conceivably could the ' Wailing*2 Cow ' of strophe 1, the very prototype of the ' groaning creation ', be here called the ' strongest ' of beings — *aojištō hātām*[*1], with the same superlative *mairištō* immediately adjoining in 4, and the very distinctive *hvō vichīrō Ahurō* at the end of it, in line *c* of strophe 4. As the *mairištō* cannot be separated from the *hvō vičhīrō*, neither can the *hvō*

*1 Types fail. *2. She was not wailing for her mate, the primaeval Bull ; see below.

aojištō be separated from either. See how near *aojištō* stands to *Mazdāo*, the latter coming into position immediately after *keredušā* with *mairištō* immediately following ; — see how much nearer *aojištō* is to *Mazdāo... mairištō* than *Mazdāo* is to its own undoubted correlative *Ahurō* of line *c* in 4. As the very distant *hvō vičhīrō Ahurō* cannot possibly be separated from its correlative *mazdāo ... mairištō*, so *Mazdāo mairištō* cannot be separated from its just proceding *hātām* aojištō* ; notice also the three *hvō*'s which strike both eye and ear together, each so emphatically particular, and each helping to form this signal group. We must not also forget how very appropriate (*a*)*ojištō* would be to *Mazdao*. In the Ṛk, Indra was *ójišṭha* several times ; see where he is *ójiyaḥ*(*s*) and *ójasvantam*.

*7 *Yahmāi*, as a dative of ' goal ' ' coming to whom ' is, of course awkward, the acc. of goal is always the more natural ; — but I now suggeşt ' calls to whom ', i. e. ' with the one, i. e. Zarathushtra ', see Y. 28,3, ' weaving hymn-calls to whom, ' i. e. to Mazda ; — ᶜwith him I came — for, i. e. ' on behalf of ' the Kine (*gavōi* = *gavę**, — ' of those things, these are not to be known whereby He, (or the lofty ones') move the fires, — or ' heal the afflicted '. ' He is the greatest of Beings, with the one weaving hymns to whom I come '. This is however only an alternative ; it is difficult indeed to avoid the dative of goal here as elsewhere. (' -*ōi* = *a*+*i*, constituent elements of ' *ę* '.)

*8 *Zavēñg*. Some worthy writers might be of the opinion that the *zavēñg* is necessarily the object of the *jimā*. ' Coming to the calls of the Cow's Soul ' would indeed be well adapted ; so in Y. 28,3, where it is to Zarathuštra, to whose calls, the ' Gods ' are bidden ' to come '. But if *keredušā* can ; see below, be regarded as governing *zavēñg* in the sense of a *kṛtušā*, all becomes clear.

(9) With regard to *jimā*, the first personal *gamāmi* is here by far the most realistic; see the following first personals, *nē* in 4, *mē urvā* in 5, etc. The alternative adjective *gamāḥ*(-*s*) (*āgamāḥ*(-*s*)), nom. pl. m.; would be here especially awkward. *Gamā* as 1st personal conj. may well be written as nearer the Gāthic *jimā*, see the other Vedic first personals in -*ā*.

(10) *kereduša*. At first sight the most simple correspondent for *kereduša* would be *kṛidu*, see Gaθas p. . *Kṛduna* 'in my needs'; 'but *kereduša*='*kṛtuša*' seems better when regarded as the instr. singular masculine of an unreduplicated perfect participle to *kṛt* = 'to spin'; i. e. read *kerctušā*, 'with the one, (i. e. Zarathushtra), having woven (the *havąs*); cp. *uſyāni* in 28; 'I will weave my hymn'; — See also R. V., X., 130, 2, *púmāṅ*** *enaṁ* (*yajnáṁ*) *tanuta út kṛṇatti púmān ví tatne ádᶜi náke asmín*; so also Roth and Grass.; but see Ludwig. *Kṛtušā* could hardly be an unreduplicated perfect to a *kṛt*, *kart* so formed from *kar* (*kṛ*) 'with one having 'made' the calls'. For the unreduplicated perfect part, in general cp. *vidušā*, etc.; — see also the adjective *kṛtvan* (to *kar*, *kṛ*) = 'active (so R.) in the offering'. Or again, to suggest all 'possibilities', we may have here an instr. of a neuter noun adverbially used; 'with the weaving of the hymn-calls'; — even '*kṛtvaḥ*(-*s*), has been thought of (?); — cp. *kṛtušā* = 'once'? A curious nom. pl. might also be mentioned, compare some views of Y. 10, 7 (Sp.) (*urādᶜuša*), in which case we should use *čakṛtvāṅsaḥ* as the Skt. equivalent.

To re-survey this all-important passage in a few final words. — The first call of exegesis demands of us *to see the same subject, speaker, or doer* in a coherent passage from beginning to end where no notice to the contrary is given, and where continuance is at all possible. Here coherence decidedly exists: 'He with Asha (this as equalling *Ašem*)' is the stated first speaker; —

in *a* ; ' He ... answered with his truth ' : a chief exempt from hostility was not to be thought of ; ... ' of these things ' he continues, ' those are not to be known ' ; — and then ' of beings He is mightiest to whom I come with the one offering his invocations ' ; — then *Mazda* is the most *mindful* ..., this as the reason for his, Asha's, coming to Him. Why interrupt this flow by introducing another speaker at *hvō aojištō* without an indication ? See even the inferences — : ' I, Asha, Representative of the Holy Tribes, come to him, Mazda Ahura ; ' who is the greatest of Beings ', see Y. 41, 5, 8, 11, for the very reason that He is thus my ' greater One ' — ' my Superior '. His ' King's Fashioner is likewise almost Himself ' (if it be he who is meant) the greatest under Him, Ahura, like the *Spēništa maiṇyu* wherever a person may be intended[*6] — to him I come with my Asha-truth within the *ratu Zarathushtra* the One weaving his hymn-calls ; with Him I come as Asha the good friend', Y. 32,2. The speaker seems to disavow the supreme responsibility. In Y. 28 it is, as said above, also Zarathushtra who ' weaves his hymn-calls '. One esteemed writer thinks it a good pointing to render, ' of beings the strongest is he to whom I come to help when he calls '. Why, — again let me ask, — put the ' strength ' into emphatic point just here, if it be the wailing being who so signally calls for help ; — ' help ' is also not here expressed.

Let me say also a word here to any inexperienced reader who may scan this piece. It would be altogether fatuous to abandon difficult passages like this as if in despair of any value to be discovered in it. Even supposing for a moment that all syntactical connection were half lost, — yet see the graphic nature of the very terms themselves ; — Out of these fragments we must construct the sentences. — It by no means invalidates

all results if we do not hit upon the exact original, — precious elements still remain — so everywhere. As my great Vedic friend Professor R. von Roth used to say : ' How can you translate a passage before you restore it ?' Restoration and translation go on hand in hand ; — they are inseparable parts of the same thing, the reproduction of ancient sentences as interpreted.

As to the implied urgent necessity of such translations as the above, which, with the three others cited, are all of course tentative, provisional and non-partisan, — for the differing views are freely given — let me recall here what I have printed elsewhere from the eminent Professor H. Oldenberg of Göttingen, one of my greatly distinguished colleagues upon the Sacred Books of the East. He writes — « Vedic Religion, page 27, « — ' The Vedic language is nearer Avesta than it, the Vedic, « is to its own Sanskrit epic ... and that the difference (between « Veda and Avesta) in the system of sounds is not greater than « that between the more separated dialects of Greece...

« The Vedic diction has an important series of characte- « ristic favourite expressions which are common to it with the « Avesta, but are not common to it with the later Indian.

« The near relation of the metrical forms (in Veda and « Avesta) and especially that of the poetical character in each « comes also into consideration. When one has remarked that « entire Avesta strophes, simply upon the basis of a comparative « sound-system, can be translated into Vedic, this opinion « should be further extended for such a translation would not « only result in correct Vedic words and sentences, but in « strophes out of which the soul of Vedic poetry seems to speak ». In direct connection with these remarkable statements the distinguished author does me the honour to refer to my translation of Yasna XXVIII. into Sanskrit in Roth's Festgruss.

After this no one will hesitate to say that the Gāthas and the rest of the Avesta should be transposed into the Indian Vedic by some Gāthic scholar as soon as possible. This work I have already done in manuscript and if time be spared me, I will publish it, though at seventy five years of age I can of course not expect to finish it; — I may leave it ready for continuation.

As said above, both the accentuation and the Sandhi are redundantly applied for the purpose cited. Accustomed Sanskritists need not to be reminded that Sandhi differs in the Vedic and later texts, and that the accents are not uniformly reported. — The lack of accented types has at times subjected me here and there to a slip which readers will kindly condone.

I would express my grateful recognitions to the skill and taste of the compositor in arranging an enclosed form for each strophe, a matter of no slight discrimination.

L. H. MILLS.

Oxford, February, 1912.

YASNA XXXI

IN ITS

SANSKRIT EQUIVALENT

TOGETHER WITH A REVISED VERSION OF THE

Translations in the XXXIst volume of the SACRED BOOKS of the EAST 1887 and in the FIVE ZARATHUSTRIAN GĀTHĀS 1892-94

BY

PROFESSOR MILLS

OXFORD

March, 1914.

YASNA XXXI IN ITS SANSKRIT FORMS.

1. Tā*[1] (tāni) vaḥ (vo)* vratā(-āni) smarantaḥ(-o'śr-) aśrutāni vacāṅsi* śaṅsāmaḥ, (-kíla vácāṅsi yadyeva ghoṣatyā vāchā proktāni, tathā'pi(-y) adhi(-y-) ā yāvat(-d) akamataḥ(-ś) śrutāni(-y))

(b) ebhyaḥ(-o) ye vrataiḥ(-r)* druhaḥ(-a) ṛtasya gehāni (gayāṅ** vṛjanāni* ca) mṛcyanti (-yāṅ), marcayante (-āntai),

(c) āt(-c) ca (-ai-) ebhyaḥ (-o) vasiṣṭhāni ye **hṛddhāḥ ((-ā) (?), hṛdaya-bhaktayaḥ(-o's-)) asan (-t-) sumedhase (mahādhe)*.

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*1 See Y. I with the Pahlavi, Persian and Sanskrit texts, together with the Author's accented Sanskrit rendering. 1910, — Y. XXVIII in Sanskrit, Roth's Festgruss, 1893, also in the Sir J. J. Memorial Vol., Bombay, 1914, — Y. XXIX in the Muséon 1912, — Y. XLIV. Acts of the International Congress, Paris, 1897 and in Z. D. M. G., 1911-1912, — Y. XXX, Z. D. M. G., 1914.

*2 Notice *aguštā* as = ' not heard ', to ind. *ghúṣ-* = ' to shout '; to express this we might insert as above.

* Note well that the Druj could have her false ' *vratas* '. Why not then also a false *hv(a)ētu*, *verezēna* and *airyaman*, as in Y. 32, 1. This point is important for the exegesis of that passage. This is now my alternative.

** In this XXXI we have a series of prayers in the height of the crisis. The hymn was written amidst the acute distress of a civil or border war; — houses and villages and privinces were overrun, — or so threatened.

2. Yadi(-y) ebhiḥ(-r vacobhiḥ(-r)) ned ravaṇa-*[1]śrut(-d)-

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*1 To recall *rauti* as the source of *ruvan*, ' buzzing ' in the ears as the voice of the soul '.

The Cause still hangs in suspense — would the Religion of Ahura Mazda be that of Persia for a thousand years, or the Religion of the Devas ? ; — this was the question.

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1. These doctrines (therefore) we are (earnestly) declaring to You (as we) recite them forth (from memory), words (till now) unheard*1 (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal-vows*2 of the Druj (Lie-demon of our foes) are destroying the settlements of Asha*3 (Archangel of thy Holy Law), but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Mazda.

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*1 So also Roth, ' wollen wir worte künden — ungern gehört von denen, welche nach des Unholds Geboten ', etc.

*2 The Pahlavi *Valāšān mūn pavan āfrīngānīh ī Drūj zag ī Aharāyīh gēhān barā marencīnēnd.* Let it be noted again that a doctrinal system of the adverse party is recognised, and even such a word as *vratā* is applied to it. This fact is of great importance to the whole question of the Gāthas ; — without it it would be highly uncritical to speak of the religious system of the Druj as fit even for approximate recognition.

*3 Why not the settlements of *Vohu Manah* ? Doubtless because *Asha* meant the legal ' Righteousness '. (The Sandhi throughout is again redundantly applied.)

2. And if by this means the indubitable truths are not visible to the soul*1, then as better (than these words) I will

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*1 The Pahlavi renders ' to the soul ' freely by ' believes ' : *Pavan nikīrišn' lā hēmnunēd* (deceived by the recollection of the form of ' *ātmane* ') *aš pavan zag ī agūmānīkīh.* The general indications only are to be observed.

ātmane ('dv-) advayāṅsi*1 (kila, (yadi(-y) asma-dharma-vidyā-viśeṣaṇāni (-y) ned advayanti (-ī-) iva (-ā-) abhi-dṛṣṭāni*1 (asan(-n)' (abhi-dṛśyāntai) vasyāṅsi ((*2-ī-) iva (-ā-), asma-svasti-prāptaye (-a) upayogi(n)tarāṇi(-y)),

(b) āt (téna) vaḥ(-o) viśvān(-ṅ-ā(-e-) iye (svayaṁ pratyakṣam*3 emi (aimi) yathā (yataḥ(-a)) ṛtum (ṛtu-patim (??, ity kadācid) asuraḥ(-o) veda, (abhiṣamjajñau)*4

(c) sumedhāḥ ((-ā) mahādhāḥ(-ā)), ṛtum ekam aiśvaryavantam iva) ayoḥ(-or) aṅśayoḥ*5(-or)* yena (-ar-) ṛtāt (-te) sacā ((-ar-) ṛtena saha)* jīvāmasi ((?), jīvāma)*6.

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*1 Read perhaps *advayāo* = *advayāṅsi* for Av. *advā* — but the metre! — see the Pahlavi. Otherwise ' the way ' *adhvā* as = ' path '; — but the participle does not agree, — this might be, however, emended, — so properly. Compare for meaning *kavím ádvayantaṁ, -śakhā* (-ā-) *ádvayāḥ*. Or with ' *adhvā* ' ' *yadi(-y) ebhiḥ(-r) ned ātmane(-'dh-) adhvā(-ā-) abhi-dṛṣṭau vasyāṅ iva* (-ā-) *asat*, (*kila yadi(-y) adhvā ned vásyāṅ iva dṛśyāte* ' = ' if to the soul our way as the better is not in sight '. A most clever suggestion, which, however, sounds rather late and artificial; — but I most emphatically adopt it as an alternative.

*2 As better than the ' *vrata* ' of the Druj(-k); see strophe 1.

*3 That is to say, I, Zarathushtra, will come personally; — the prior announcement may have been declared through deputies.

*4 *asma-mantravadaṁ víśveṣām anyeṣāṁ mantravidāṁ nis(-r)-viveda, abhiṣam-jajñauca, (-ai-) ekam agriyam iva pramāṇa-bhṛtam.*

*5 *aṅśayoḥ(-or) nūnam evaṁ parasparam etāvat(-d) dveṣiṇoḥ.*

*6 There is no such word at all as *juv-*; — the ' ﻭ ' could easily be confused in a manuscript with ' ﻭ ' = ' *i* ' and ﻭ, or ﻭ (= ﻭ with the sign of lengtening).

3. Yāṁ (parituṣṭiṁ vipratipatteḥ(-r) ubhābhyāṁ) dhāḥ (-ā), (haye) manyo*1 (-unā (?) vā (-ā-)) atharyā ca (-ar-) ṛtena ca

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*1 Notice this form of *mainyū*; — hardly instrumental; — see the 2d. personal verb.

come to you all (in my person, with that power, and in that way) according to which Ahura Mazda knows (and appoints (especially understands and recognises) (me as) His ruler*1, that ruler over both the two (struggling) sides*2 in order that we (in obedience to Him)*2, may live according to Asha (as His Law)*3.

*1 Comp. chap. XXIX, 2, where the Ratu is discussed, here the word might be the abstract = ' regulation '.

*2 So also Roth, ' dieser beiden Parteien (Yasna XXXI '. He repels and condemns the evil, and he hallows and helps the good.

*3 Notice that he seems to claim for his cause a higher person, or law, who, or which, might eventually, through some victory (?), harmonise (!) the antagonistic elements within the two systems. Ahura knows, i. e. recognises, such an one to be properly supreme over both. A most significant statement. How far had the breach gone between the two parties; — and how long since? We seem to be here near the very birth-time of the great schism which divided forever the adherents of Ahura Mazda in Persia from those of the Devas.

3. And that keenness, (that deciding satisfaction) which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit*1, and (Thy) Fire, and by Asha (Thy Law itself) to the two battling sides*2, do Thou declare

*1 Most striking is the use of ' *mainyu* ' without the adjective. So, often; — it is ' the Spirit ' = ' God '; — it is ' His Spirit ', His ' *Spenishta Mainyu* '. It is also used of man 's ' spirit '.

*2 Or, reading *rānibhyā* ' from the two *araṇi* '; — recall the ' two kindling sticks '; so according to the brilliant suggestion of Haug; — but see *ãsayão* in verse 2. The Pahlavi translator has *av' patkārḍārān' shnākhtārīh*; — to this effect uniformly, so in Y. XLIII, 12 K5 and most Mss., except K4, — and likewise excepting the printed V. S.(?), — read *rānōibyō* which excludes the dual form; — also the ' fire ' is not mentioned there. It is however far from impossible that the present Pahlavi translation may be a growth beyond an earlier one more in accordance with *araṇi*. The ' strivers ', or ' fighters ', might possibly (?) here describe the two rubbing-sticks (?).

(tava) viśeṣaṇaiḥ(-r) vi-cayeḥ(-r(?)** (-yāi- (?)) raṇābhyāṁ manaḥ-(-s(?)-)-kṣṇutaṁ*1,

(b) yat(-d) vrataṁ(-ñ-) cakshuṣmadbhyaḥ, (kila, yat(-d) vrataṁ vijñānavadbhyaḥ parama-(-ā-)-adhikāram (iti) vidya-(-ā-)te) tat (-d naḥ, sumedhaḥ (-o) máhādhāḥ), vidmane (vidma-narthaṁ) voca,

(c) jihvā(-ayā)*2 tava (-ā-) āsaḥ (pravoca) yena jīvataḥ(-o)* viśvāṅ*3 (asma-dharma-panthānaṁ) vārayāmi*4.

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*1 .. *iti, kila, yāṁ tūṣṭimatīṁ buddhiṁ kṣṇutām iva, (-e-) iti sarupakaṁ manasvat prāyaṁ, dāḥ(-ā yayā (-o-) ubhau(-ā) aṁśau, pṛthak pṛthak(-g) asma-(-ar-)ṛjuṁ dharma-panthām upagṛbhṇāte(-a), ekaḥ(-a), ekaḥ(-a), upagṛbhṇāt, tat(-d) me dāḥ (dehi).*

*2 Notice the necessarily figurative sense. He calls on God to answer audibly ; cp. Y. 28, 11 ' with the tongue of His mouth ' ; — recall also Y. 51, 13.

*3 ... *ned mātreṇa kevalam imau(-ā)* aṁśau*, viśve tu viśvatra(-ā-) asma-dharma-panthām upagṛhṇān.*

*4 *vārārayāmi* ? ; — cp. for form *dādhāraya-* to *dhṛ-*, caus. from intens. *viśvāṅ asma-janāṅ bhūyiṣṭhaṁ(-ñ-) *śraddhā-manasaḥ karāṇi (*kṛṇavāni).*

4. Yadā(-ar-) ṛtaṁ (divya-(-e-) īśvara-svargīyaḥ (-a) iva) hav-

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*3 Personification impossible. *Ar(a)maiti* cannot here refer immediately to the ' Archangel '. He does not pray ' *in company with* the Archangel ' but ' animated by the Zeal which the Archangel personifies ' — so with *Vanhishta Manah*, — see also *Khshatrem* ; — they cannot here refer to the ' Archangels '. He did not pray *for a ' person '* — but for the religious-political power, and such distinctions are vital. The entire question of the value of the Gāthas as the first expression of interior ideas, depends on such passages as these where the mere inferior idea of ' personification ' is totally excluded. Every possible passage where we can avoid rendering the ' Archangel ', or the ' saint ' elevates the subject. Personification gives everywhere more colour, but what we need is to *verify the depth*. The personification necessarily took place as a secondary thought, and here we see the process of the change going on before our eyes An immense point in the history of religious-philosophical ideas.

unto us that we may know it, O Ahura, that sacred Lore which is for the seeing*1 (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this to us that we may know it, O Mazda. With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it that (as I preach its mighty truths*2) I may make all the living believers*3 !

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*1 The Pahlavi *āīmar* (sic) *vijārḍār*. This meaning suits the connection admirably. The word is otherwise difficult, and this general sense is followed by some who do not so often cite the Pahlavi translator, — and only knew it at second hand.

*2 See strophe 1.

*3 So also Roth, — ' wie ich alle lebenden bekehren soll '. So also the general indication of the Pahlavi translator. That the idea of an ' universal conversion of sinners ', ' aliens ', or ' natives ', is here foreshadowed admits no doubt; — but throughout this XXXI, the great Cause hangs in suspense, N. B. Of course the wavering saints were to some extent held in view; — and I now think that the ' living ' here referred to were, more immediately, the ' Church ', ' the elect ', not yet fully conformed in their new faith.

4. When Asha (Archangel of the Holy Law) shall be inclined to my appeal*1, and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's*2 (own) Ahuras, then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Holy Zeal (as Aramaiti)*3 and with

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*1 The general Pahlavi indications *karītūntār* and *bavīhūnam* point to the proprer sense. Most writers value the general indication of the Pahlavi, etc., as soon as they become acquainted with it.

*2 Notice a similar occurrence in Y. 30, 9, the other Ameshaspenta's as the Ahura's of Mazda.

Or, with Roth, ' wenn wirklich sich rufen lassen die Ahura-Mazdas ' (?). Otherwise ' O (?) Mazda and the Ahuras '. Hübschmann also maintained that Mazdâs- — was here a plural; (see his Y. XXX, 10). I prefer a gen., though the Sanskrit gen. to the *-āh* nom. would have the short *-aḥ*. ' Ahura ' is a term applied not only to Mazda, but to the prophets, and also as here to the Archangels.

yaṁ*[1] (-āḥ(-ā) asan(-t-) sumedasaḥ (-ś) ca mahādhaḥ (-o's-) asurāsaḥ*(-a),

(b) **ṛtyā (?) ca (-ar-) ṛtāvaryā(-ā-) aramatyā (saha, samanā) vasiṣṭhena icchā(-āmi)*[1] manasā (tathā prārthayamānaḥ (-o)) ; —

(c) mahyaṁ syāt kṣatraṁ ojasvat(-d), (dehi), yasya vardhena vanema druhaṁ (piśācakīm)*[2].

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*1 For Av. *išasā* — which seems to be in itself an irregularity — we might recall merely in general *eṣiṣiṣa* — desid. of *iṣ- icchāmi*. The Pahlavi indicates this sense.

*2 . . . *Druham*asma-śatrūṅ(r) dveṣasā vi-śvāsayatīm.*

5. Tat(-d) me **vicitaye voca*[1] yat(-d) me(-a) ṛtena dhāta (adadhāta) vasyaḥ (-yo, 'sma) asma-dharma-(-nīti-)-nirvāhaka-taraṁ)

(b) **vidé (?? vettave, vidmane (-manarthaṁ)) vasunā manasā, manaḥ(-ś)*[2] ca dātave, (manaḥ(-s-) saṁyuje (-yokturṁ) tasmin) yasya (smā) mama*[3] ((?) madīyaḥ(-a) ṛṣiḥ(-ir)*[4] (**pravavāca pra(-o-)uvāca), yat(-d) mama *mantravit(-d) māṁ vijñāpayāṁ cakāra, cakarat(-d), (mama vratāni(-y-) ṛṣvāṇi vā)[3], —

(c) tānicid, (haye) sumedhaḥ ((-dho) mahādhāḥ, (-ā)) asura, yāni ned vā(-ā-) asat(-d), asati vā (asan).

---

*1 Notice again the constant appeals to God ' to speak '.

*2 *-ēñ* = the nasal vowel = *-ān*, or sometimes *-ã*, *-ãm*, as in *mãm* ; here '*mēñ* ' *man* ', in *mēñ ca daidyāi*.

*3 *mā* looks much as if it stood for Av. *mana* = ' my '. We naturally recall the rare *mā-* in composition ; — or is it *sma*, *smā* ?

*4 Or — ' *mama* (*-ar-*)*ṛṣvāṇi dharmāṇi-vā* '.

Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray*1 for that mighty Kingdom with whose force*2 we may smite the Druj (Lie demon of the foe).

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*1 So also Roth, rendering *išasā* in accordance with the Pahlavi, ' erbitte ich '.

*2 The Pahlavi has ' *Man' pavan zag ī valā gūrdīh — khūshīḍ Drūj' aē* ' which sufficiently indicates the proper sense. So also Roth, ' kraft deren wir den Unhold bemeistern mögen '.

If he can hope for a successful hearing with Asha and the other amesha's, he prays most ardently for that legal political authority, backed by the available military forces, by which influence he may overcome the hostile party.

5. Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thine) Holy Law ye* gave*1 me the better (creed) ; — tell me this that I may know*2 it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder*3 that of which my prophet speaks (or, ' to which my truths belong ', -yea), (tell me) those things, O Mazda Ahura, which may not be, and which may be*4. (-or ' which should not be...) '

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*1 Or ' is given '.

*2 He is anxious to be distinctly informed as to which of two good policies may be the better, that he may fix his mind and apply his information to what his Ṛishi (prophet) announces as the Divine will concerning what may not be done, and what should be done, as the crisis grows in intensity. It is not conceivable that he could have hesitated as to which of the ' two parties ' was in the main correct in its beliefs, though there may well have been certain elements in the creed of the hostille party which deserved weighing. We mnst not forget that the D(a)eva party held to the old established system.

*3 The Pahlavi translator recognises *mēñ-* elsewhere as = ' *mīnišn* '. It was from no ignorance (!) of the particular word that he here wrote ' *li* '.

*4 Or, possibly, ' which shall not be, or which shall be '. Is the subjunctive here used to express obligation ? So also Roth has ' was nicht sein soll oder was sein soll '.

6. asmai (-ā asma-mantravide (-vadāya) vā(-ā-) asat* (-d) (bhavāt(-d) vasiṣṭhaṁ (vacaḥ(-o), kṣatraṁ vā, nīti-s(ṣ)ṁbandhi(-y), (adhirājyaṁ tasmai paramaṁ upasthitaṁ) yaḥ(-o) me vidvāṁ* vocat satyaṁ (mantraṁ (kila, tasya dharmāṇi vyavasthāḥ(-ś) ca); — (*āsīt. (?))

(b) mantraṁ yaṁ (yaḥ (-s-)) sarvatāteḥ(-r), ṛtasya(-ā-) amṛtatvasya ((-ā-) asat(-kila, mantraṁ eṣāṁ* paramāṇāṁ sukhānāṁ *ihalokināṁ, svargīyāṇām*, ihāmutra, mantraṁ viśvāni teṣāṁ dharmāṇi vidyā-viśeṣaṇāni ca dṛḍha-sthāpayantaṁ, mūlādārabhya vijñāpayantaṁ, vyākhyāpayaṇtam . . .). *(ihaloka-svargāṇām...) (*āsām (?)).

(c) Sumedhase (mahādhe), (kíla tasya (-ā-)) asat ((-d) bhavāt, -iṣyati, (-y)) *avat(-d) (etādṛk) kshatraṁ, (kila, kṣatraṁ tasya (sva-) parama-(-ai-)-aiśvara(-e-)-icchayā, vaśena, tathā sakratum asat (-d)) yat *se (?), (yat(-d) asmai mantravide (tasya hetoḥ(-or)) vasunā vavakṣat (-d) manasā; — (-o-) ukṣayat(-d) vā (-ā-) asuraḥ(-o) vasunā (vakṣayiṣyati)) manasā*[1].

*1 ... (kila(-ā-) asmai syāt(-d) asma-nija-bhūmi-kshetra- ksatraṁ; — -tasya nīti-dharmam ukṣayat(-d) asuraḥ, puṇyatamam, akshitaṁ, *pramāṇavat(-d), — asurāya svayaṁ(-ñ-) ca tat sukhaṁ paramaṁ kṣatraṁ bhavāt(-d), nityaṁ svīyaṁ viśvathā.

7. Yáḥ(-s) tāni*[1] (vratāni(-y) āditaḥ(-o'manta) amanta purvyaḥ, (samakālaṁ(-ñ-) ca) rocirbhiḥ(-s) **saṁ-retasyan(?)*[2] svarvanti — (iti(-y) evaṁ, śabdakalpārthamātraṁ); — kíla, yáḥ(-s) tāni gurvarthāni dharmāṇi pūrvyaṁ bodhin-manāḥ(-ā) nirmāṇena (?)

*1 Is it '*tena*' = 'for this purpose'?, or '*tāni*'?

*2 *Retaḥ*, to *ri*, *rī* = 'flow'. Recall *rīyate*; — also the forms in *-y-*, *-asy-*. *Dyāuḥ(-r) urvī sakṛt(-s) **stṛn ((?) iti(-y) evam) adhi-vasta.*

6. (Verily) shall there be (or ' there was ') to him*1 the best (of all Manthra words (or ' that best authority', to him*1 who (as our) wise one (inspired by Mazda) will declare*2 to me in very deed, (b) (that word) which is the Manthra of Weal, of the Law, and of Deathless-long-life. And to Mazda (shall there be) a Realm such as (that whose strength I asked for victory*3), and which (at the last) He shall cause to flourish for him (the prophet*4) through his Good Mind (— or ' it shall flourish to Him (Mazda) through (His inspired manthra-speaking Saint) '.

*1 To the Prophet, — hardly to *Mazda* (?); — yet see *Mazdāi* below.

*2 Or ' has declared '. *Vaocāṭ* K 4.

*3 See strophe 4.

*4 Or to Ahura's prophet may there be destined the most approved manthra with its implied sovereign authority, and with its realised beneficent policy; — see XXIX, ' since he, as a fully inspired seer, has declared the vital mantra on which our cause depends ', — see Y. XXX, — conveying the hope of Healthful Happiness, of Weal; of the established Law, and of Deathless long life, here and hereafter, the central aim of the newly re-founded system. For to that saint, and to Ahura's glory, shall that government be established; — and He will, or ' may He ' extend and advance it with the ' great Benevolence ' which is its keynote.

7. (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived these (truths of the Manthra) (as the) first (inspirer to that effect) that the Heavens*1 (by like Law) first clothed themselves with

*1 The Pahlavi *Man'aš av' rōšanīh gūmīkht khvārīh. Hvāthrā* and *khvārīh* can hardly mean ' comfortable ' here. ' Ease ' is the later sense. Hardly ' the glorious conceptions clothed themselves with the lights (?) as I once preferred. *Raocēbiš* certainly means, ' with illuminating objects, stars or shining lights '.

avindat,*2 tataḥ (-ś ca) sakṛt (-d) iva sadyaḥ(-o) nabhāṅsi (-y)* urdhvaṁ(-ve) svarvanti, (svayaṁ) nakṣatrāṇi(-y-) adhyavasata**),

(b) svaḥ (kila, sa, samanā, tulyena) kratvā**(-ai- evaṁ) dhātā (-ā-) āśīt(-d) ṛtaṁ (kila(-ar-) ṛtam adadhāt(-d)), yena dhārayat(-d) vasiṣṭhaṁ manaḥ, (kila, yena (-ā-) asma-janma-bhūmi(-y)-ekapuraṁ dhārayat(-d) saha-vāsinaṁ, saha-dharmaṁ* vasiṣṭha-manasvantaṁ sahapauram) ; — (*... nabhastalam ... avasta.), (**-tunā.)

(c) tāni*1 (puṇyāni), sumedhaḥ(-o), mahādhāḥ, manyo*1 (-a) (ātman, nitya-kālam ukṣayaḥ*3(-o's-) asma-svastyartham evaṁ, tvaṁ) yaḥ(-o) nūnaṁ(-ñ-) cid asuraḥ(-o'si) asi samāḥ.

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*1 Recall '*imāṁ dhiyam ... avindat*'.

*2 Perhaps *manyunā*, but see the 2d. personal verb.

*3 Notice the quasi-irregularity of form in both languages *ukhšyō*, and *ukṣayaḥ*. (Notice the pietism.)

8. Āt tvā* (tvāṁ) maṅsi*1 pūrvyaṁ (sakṛt(-d) evaṁ), sumedhaḥ, (kila, viśvebhyaḥ(-o 'n-)) anyebhyaḥ(-o) manyubhyaḥ(-o'ti) ati(-y-)aiśvaryavattaraṁ)* yajyuṁ*2 stau*3 (aste(?)*, sthi*(?), asmastha*-būmyāṁ**(?)) manasā,

(b) vasoḥ pitāraṁ manasaḥ((-o) naraḥ(-o) vasu-manas-

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*1 Recall Y. 43, '*speñtem āṭ thvā mēn'hī*' in Y. XLIII.

*2 ... *pūrvyaṁ yájyuṁ, kila, viśvāṅ apunyāṅ deva-bhautikāṅ ati svabhāvena (-ā-)aty unnataṁ, -tadhetor asmābhiḥ(-r) evaṁ viśva-hṛdaya-bhaktibhiḥ(-r) yajyuṁ, kevalam ekāntataḥ(-o) yajñiyaṁ maṅsi*... ' First and alone to be worshipped '.

*3 Recall *asta* = ' home ', '**aste*' loc. might suffice, — or is it a dat.? *astāya, astaye* ; — cp. also *sti- stau* now used in pl. only ' household '. *Stōi* as infin. = ' to be ' seems to me to be most clumsily brought in. The verb ' to be ' in such situations is almost universally understood ; — words are economised everywhere in the Gātha. Realism should dominate our exegesis.

stars, through His understanding is the Creator of Asha (our Holy Law), whereby He supports Vohu Manah (His Benevolent Mind in His Saints, that is, the 'Good-Minded-man'); — and these (therefore (tena (?)) may'st Thou cause to prosper (as Thou hast created them), O Spirit,*1 Thou who art for every 'now' the same!

*1 *Mainyū* is most striking, again without the adjective. Hardly 'with Thy Spirit', — see the 2d singular verb; — better 'O Spirit'. But the Pahlavi · *pavan mīnavadīkīh*'. He who first thought out the institutional statutes, whereby also, as a connected consequence, the heavens clothed themselves in stars — was likewise the creator of the law in general, whereby he maintains the faithful-believing citizen in his position; — and these laws may He continue to prosper, who is ever the same, Ahura Our Lord. (He will not fail us). Notice the reiterated prayer for 'growth'.

8. Therefore, as the first*1 did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda, as the one to be adored with the mind in the land, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, (that is, 'of the Good-minded man') when I beheld Thee with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of Asha (our Holy law within Thy saints*2),

*1 So also Roth, 'vornehmsten'. Hardly here 'at first'.

*2 We might almost render Asha as the 'Congregation', so also Roth often.

*4 He at once recognised Ahura as the one only to be worshipped in the land, — so against the D(a)evas — as the 'Spiritual Father' of the faithful citizen, — as the Founder of the Holy Law, — as the Lord in the deeds of the world, administering justice, guiding the good, and so controlling destiny'.

vataḥ(-o'sm-) asma-paśumataḥ(-s) *tvakṣīyasaḥ(-a), ṛtu-pateḥ (-r)), yat tvā (tvām) (saṁ-(-ñ-)) cakṣaṇi sam-ā-agrabhaṁ (agṛbhṇāṁ)

(c) satyam ṛtasya dhātāram, asoḥ(-r) asuraṁ (-ñ-) cyautneṣu.

9. tvā*1 (tvadīyā (ā-)) āsīt(-d) aramatiḥ(-s) tvadīyaḥ, ((-o), haye) goḥ(-s) taṣṭar (tvaṣṭar) āsīt kratuḥ(-r)

(b) manyoḥ(-s), sumedhaḥ(-o) mahādhāḥ(-ā), asura, yat(-d) asyai (gave(-'d-)) adadāḥ((-ā) dharma-daivya-) panthām —

(c) kṛṣīvalāt (-leṇa) vā (-ai-) eti*2 (pathi, tena praṇītā, (-o-)utsāhitā, — (tena) ye vā ned āsīt kṛṣīvalaḥ...

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*1 *Tvōi* = **tvē* = **tvayā*, 𐬞𐬀 = 𐬞𐬌 = 𐬞𐬎 = 𐬞𐬎𐬌 (= 𐬎 + 𐬌) here = *y* + *a*, or *y* + *ā*; — for a **tvayā* = 'thine'; — cp. for form *svaya(m)*; — cp. *thvōi* = *thvę* = *thvayä*, Y. 44, 11. (This is of course entirely conjectural.)

*2 I can hardly accede to *etī* as an infin., though the termination *-ī* might be dative. Even if *ā-itēę* stood in the text, it would be débris for *ā-itaye*; — a very large percentage of apparent Avesta irregularities result from confusion with the earlier Avesta-pahlavi alphabet.

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*5 Notice that we are forced by every dictate of logic and common sense to avoid a foolish literal rendering here. Cattle do not as a rule have 'paths' made for them, nor do they 'cry aloud' for an overseer, or 'complain' at the appointment of one who does not appear to them promising; — nor is it one main effort of religion 'to content the soul of cattle', though the Cow was evidently sacred. Cattle, as the chief article of honourable wealth, are taken to signify all civic life. The 'path' is the path for the people to walk in, securing safety for soul and life and herds. The '*adhvan*', as another place has it, is 'the way' which 'is made up of the religious characteristics and teachings of the prophets' (XXXIV, 13). Notice the similarity of the expression 'paths' and 'way' to the same terms used in the Semitic Scripture, — its use is here even more advanced.

as the Lord*1 in the actions of life (their iudge and their controller).

*1 Here again the doctrine of the 'sovereignty' of God is clearly foreshadowed, — hardly fully stated, or fully understood.

9. Thine was Aramaiti (Holy Zeal*1), yea, Thine, O Kine's Creator, was understanding of the Spirit, (or 'the Spirit'*2), O Mazda Ahura, when Thou didst order a path*3 for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided*4) she goeth*4 (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice*5).

*1 Notice that the word *ār(a)maitiš* must be used in its natural sense, and not as a proprer name void of meaning. Here it equals 'energetic zeal'; — see *khratuš* just following.

*2 Reading *mainyēuš* with our Oxford Ms. Or again His '*speñta mainyu*' (?); otherwise 'spiritual (understanding)', but *mainyu* is used elsewhere (verse 3 and 7) alone, and certainly not as an adjective even with a substantive understood. The rendering 'spirit' as 'Thy spirit' is suspiciously significant; but what is the help? We are forced by grammar so to translate.

*3 As he created the kine, — the symbol of all agricultural well-being, and therefore of civilisation as against idleness, theft and murder, — so He decreed her destiny (*dharma-daivyaṁ panthānaṃ*) — under obedience — guiding the development of labour. Have we not here the first effort known in history to sanctify and ennoble agricultural labour, giving honour to those without whom all honest races would starve? Is not this the acutest question of the present day also — to 'dignify labour'; — or shall we all starve?

*4 Hardly to 'leave the tiller' which seems very pointless; — the ablative has here the causative force, as in *ašāṭ hacā*. The Cow's keeper was behind her; — she went before and from him. The Pahlavi has '*pavan varzīḍārīh*' a present; though the Pahlavi should never be positively cited for the grammatical forms, as they are there shattered.

10. Āt *si (sī(?) (sā) ayoḥ(-or) antar(-rā))* pravarata (-vṛta) kshetra-tṛṇa-vastāram*2 ((?), ity evaṁ śabdakalpārthamātram, kíla, kṛṣīvalam *utsāha-śílam), *asyai (suāyai, (svayaṁ*)) paśú-mantaṁ (**psuyantaṁ(?), **psuṣyantam(?)*3, iti śabdakalpārthaṁ punar api) psu, (kíla, jīva-bhojanaṁ yajvabhyaḥ (-o'bhi-) *abhi-dadhatam)

(b) asuram ṛtāvanaṁ vasoḥ paśu-raivatya-bhṛtam*4 asu-raṁ manasaḥ(-o)- ; (c) ned, (-t), sumedhaḥ(-o) (mahādhāḥ, (-ā-) *akṛṣi-karaḥ(-o) **dīvyan-(-ñ-)*-cana (dambhakaḥ (-ś-) cana) susmṛteḥ(-r) bhakṣitā (bhavāt) (*-yat-(c-)(?)).

*1 See *varata*, aor. (?).

*2 To Av. *vah* = ' to clothe ' the meadow with grass ; — see ind. *vastṛ-* to *vas-* = ' to clothe ' ; — see *vāstra-*. Others prefer a separate root.

*3 Cp. for form only *uruṣy-* to *uru-*, — so, to illustrate fhe more the identity, of the Av. word with a possible Sanskt. form.

*4 *fšēñghīm(-iyem)* = **psāsiyam* (?) ; *fšēñg-* = *p-s-ā-s-*.

11. yat(-d) naḥ (-s) sumedhaḥ(-o) (mahādhāḥ pūrvyaṁ gayān-(-ñ-)ca (pura-gehāni, viśvāṁ asma (-ā-) adhyuṣitāṁ deśāṁ) atak-ṣaḥ(-o-), dhyānānica (asma-dharma-vidyāṁ sampurnām upārac-aẏaḥ(-s), tena saha kadācid(-t) asmapuṇya-paura*-niyamāṁ, vyāvahārikāṇica) *(-pura-)

(b) tvā ((?) *tvena(?))*1 tvadīyena) manasā((-ā-) api(-y)) asma-kratūn (-ṁś-)ca (asma-dharma-buddhiṁ sarvataḥ(-o) vi-nayena prakāśitām),*2 yat(-d) asma (-ā-) asthanvat ((-cch-) śarīri-ṇam) utthānam (uttānaṁ** (?) adadhāḥ(-ā, dadhātha**) —

*1 To a possible *tvéna-* or *tvā-* possessive ; — see again *tuābhiḥ* possessive.

*2 *asma-nija-janya-matayaḥ (-s) sarvataḥ.*

' When he had through imparted grace established that virtuous energy

10. (But she did not pause in her doubting.) For of the two she chose*1 the husbandman, (the thrifty toiler in the fields,*2) as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's (Good Man's) wealth*3. Never, Mazda, shall the thieving*4 nomad share the good creed.*5 (For the Kine's choice would bestow it !*6)

*1 Notice that this cow (some would say 'ox') chooses her master, unlike other cattle. But observe also, what is more interesting, that she seems reconciled to the guardian appointed by Ahura. In Y. XXIX, 9, she actually 'wept' at the naming of the 'pusillanimous Zarathustra', desiring a 'kingly potentate'. Now, however, we see that she has dried her tears, as she is satisfied with the simple workman whom he represents notwithstanding high rank.

*2 In the later Avesta this first *vāstrya fşuyañt* is declared to be Zarathushtra. He certainly first sanctified the labour of the agriculturalist.

*3 The Pahlavi *Man' fše(ñ)g* pavan Vohūman.*

*4 Pahlavi *davāsahi(a)c*; Ner. *pratârayitre.* This was the question — the Nomads lived by plundering raids on the neighbouring Zoroastrian land-owning farmers.

*5 *Khūp'-hōšhmūrišnīh.* '*Judicial blindness*' is everywhere indicated. (The wicked are kept from the sight of the truth.) Notice the severe exclusiveness of the orthodox party. Were there three parties, the Ahura party, the D(a)eva party, and the raiding Turanians, or were these last classed with the D(a)eva-worshippers?

*6 This seems implied.

11. (This doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee). For when first, O Ahura Mazda. Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws ;*1 — and when Thou gavest (us)

*1 Hardly with some 'madest the worlds and the souls (?)'.

which was to be their salvation, and when he had laid before them the particular course of action, as well as the principles, which were to guide the neophyte in the acceptance of his creed, — there high at once arose the dualistic clamour'.

(c) yat(-c-)ca cyautnāni (adadhāḥ kriyā-prasaṅgavanti pradiśāḥ pradideśitha), śaṁsān(-ñ-)ca (deśīyān((-ṁs) tava (-ar-) ṛṣibhiḥ* pravocāḥ (pra-(-o-)-uvaktha-vā) yatra (svadharma-viddhi)-varāṁ vaṣṭiḥ((-r) asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o) nūtanam abhi-gṛhītaḥ(-o)) dhatte (dadhate) ; — (kila, yat samādadhātha, (-ā-) adadhāḥ (-ā), yatra (yathā) vasiṣṭhaṁ(-ṭhena) sva-dharma-mārgaṁ hita-kāratarām iva (-ā) asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o) vṛṇavat, tasmai śrad-(-dhāṁ)- dhatte (dadhate) ...)

12. ... atra (sadyaḥ(-o)) vācaṁ bharati mithūvacāḥ(-ā) vā ṛjuvacāḥ(-ā) vā,

(b) vidvāṁ vā (-ā-) ávidvāṁ vā(-ā-), asya hṛdā ca manasā ca (viśvataḥ prabodhitaḥ(-o)), —

(c) anuṣaktā(-ā-) anuṣaṅgiṇī) aramatiḥ, (kíla(-ā-) anukrameṇa, abādhā (-ā-) asaṁbhramā (-ā-) aramatiḥ(-r), virāgavatī tu(-tv) evaṁ, tathāpi* tīkṣṇa-matiḥ(-r) jijñāsuḥ (-r)arámatiḥ(-r) manyunā pṛccha(-ā-)te (kila, asma-(-ar-) -ṛṣiḥ(-r)** aramatyā (-o-) utsāhitaḥ (-to'bhi) abhi-vi-śvāsitaḥ(-o)) manyunā (nirbandhī*1, manaḥ-(-o)-grahaṇena-) pṛcchati yatra **methanāni ((-y) asan, kila, -yatra (-ā-) *asacchāstrıyāṇi(-y) avidhivanti, vi-prati-pattayaḥ(-o) viśvathā, vidya(-ā-)nte).* (ānuṣak)

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*1 So now preferred to my view in '83-'87.

*2 It reads like a modern political-religious report in metre : Amidst the confusion there is heard the ' still small voice '. ' Aramaiti without confusion, in sober order and persistence, yet with keenness, inquires where the errors are. '

13. Yā (yāni) pṛcchā(-aẏā) āviḥ(ṣ(?))-kṛtāni, yā (yānī) vā, sumedhaḥ(-o), (asma-dharma-saha-pauraḥ(-ś),** citta-vyakulī

understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life,*1 (and didst thus determine) actions (by Thy judicial power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices.

*1 Another ventures upon 'flesh' (?).

The Pahlavi *tan'havandān' jān yehabūnd.* Compare Y. XXX, 7, where Aramaiti gives 'a body' after previous creations.

12. (There strife at once arose, and still is raging) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter his faith), and with devoted mind and heart. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search) steadily (our) earnest zeal, Aramaiti, questions with animation where the errors (lie).*1

*1 Or, 'questions the two spirits (not here alone), but where they abide', — the two spirits as the two halves of the spiritual Universe (See Y. XXX). They were here inspiring the conflict. So the Pahlavi unvaryingly has *m(a)ēthā-* in the sense of *mihānŏ* [*-aš gās ī tamā yehevūnēd*]: Ner. *paralokanivāsān.* See Y. XXX, 9; XXXIII, 9; XXXIV, 6. A questioning which was lightly made would indicate a willingness to tamper with error. The Persian Ms. following the Pahlavi has: *Angā bāng i buland ān i durūgh guftār* [Ganā Mīnū] *ān ham i rāst guftār* [Hōrmuzd], etc. But Neryosangh is less venturesome: *Atra bumbām* (?) *karoti* [*antar jagati*], *mithyāvaktā vā satyavaktā vā*, etc.

13. (Yea, my Zeal, as Aramaiti, questions searchingly, for Thou, O Mazda! hast Thy view on all; — we cannot question lightly). What things through question asked are open*1 (permitted

*1 *Pavan zag ī āškārak'.*

kṛtaḥ) pṛcchāte** tāyuḥ*[1] (?) (-r (?) iva) (kila, yāni guhyā (-yāni) pṛcchāte).

(b) yaḥ(-yo)*[2] vā (praja-pīḍākāraḥ (-a iva (-ā-)) arbhasya (-ai-) enasaḥ (-a) ā (tena sambandhinīṁ) mahiṣṭhām āyamati bhujaṁ, (kila, (-ā-)atitīkṣṇaṁ daṇḍam, anyāyam),

(c) tāni tava *cakṣaṇi tveṣe (**cakṣurbhyāṁ(-ṁ, -n-)-tveṣ-ābhyāṁ) spaṭ((-ḍ)iva viśvadṛś(-k, -g), viśva-jñāḥ(-ā)) abhi (-ir-) ṛténa vénasi viśvāni !

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*1 ... *pṛcchyāni kenacid hetunā viśvathā prati-ṣiddhani, vilagdhatayā* **steyakṛtā(-e-) iva prāyam, apaguptāni.*

*2 ... *' asma-deśīya-śatruḥ pīḍākaraḥ(-o) nūnam alpakāla-mātram eva, dhik ! (-g (?)) nūtane raṇa-karmaṇi jetā '. Cašmēñg = cašman* loc. = **cakṣaṇi.*

14. tāni tvā* (tvām pṛcchā(-āmi), asura, yāni hi (-y-) ā(ai) eti ((-y) ā*-ayanti (-āntai,) abhi(-y-)ā* gāsyate* [1](?)-ante) ca, (kila yāḥ (-ā) nīti-ṣaṁbhavāḥ(-ā) nehdiṣṭhaṁ sadyaḥ(-o'pekṣ-) apekṣitāḥ (-ā-) iva (-ā-) ā-ayante (-āntai) abhi(-y-)ā **gāsyate-ca (gāsyanti) ...)

(b) yāḥ ((-ā)ṛṇārthena(-e-)) iṣudhyāḥ(-ā) dadate dātrāṇām-(-treṣu) sacā (-ar-) ṛtāvanaḥ, (kila, yāni paritoṣa-(-ā-)-arha-(-ar-)ṛ-ṇāni (-ī-) iti(-ī) iva prāyam, ṛṇāni(-y) asma(-arṣ-)ṛṣaye dheyāni, tat(-d-) arthaṁ samśodhyāni*[2] (tasya (-ā-) arha-lābhasya* hetoḥ(-r) dheyāni, svadātrāṇāṁ hetoḥ(-r), pratyupakāra-(-ā-)-arhāṇāṁ (dātrāṇām, asma-nīti-dharma (-ā-) āyāsam uddhṛtāṁ, tam upak-ṛṇvatām, prabhṛtāṁ*, tadhetoḥ(-or) evam ṛṇāni (-y) asmai (-ā) *iṣudhyitāni) ; —

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*1 *gāsyati = jēñghatī ?*

*2 ... *tasya (-o-) upakārāṇām atyupayoginām hetoḥ(-or) lābhaṁ* pratyu-pakāreṇa (-ā-) arhatām.* We owe the undoubted meaning of the Avesta *išud-* to the Pahl., Pers. and Sanskrit translators. Sanskrit *ishudh-* does not include the idea of ' debt ', as ' (dues) ' ' sought again '.

to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive*1 (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance*2, on all*3 with Thy glittering eye(s) as a (righteous) guard Thou art gazing !

*1 The Pahlavi *Nīhānīk*. What questions were forbidden we cannot determine at all; — possibly those involving astrology, or too close inquiries into destiny.

*2 Remorseless venegeance for trifles, — as the adherent of one party fell into the military power of the other.

*3 Thou seest even the questions and decisions of our thoughts as to matters which are simple or difficult, permitted or occult.

14. This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda, (as I seek Thy counsel once again).*1 What (events) are coming now, and what (events) shall come in the future ;*3 and what prayers-with-debt*3 confessions are offered from*4 the offerings of the holy ? And what (are the awards) for the faithless ? And how shall they be in the (final) state*5 of completion ?

*1 See verse 5.

*2 The Pahlavi has *man' maḍ', va man'ic yehemtūnēḍ*, ' What has come ? — And what is coming ? ,

*3 The Pahlavi *man' avām*.

*4 Or *hacā* in the Indian sense.

*5 The summung up of judgment, the Pahlavi *angarḍīkīh*, the judgment ; but Ner. *vipākatā*, consummation.

(c) yāh(-ś) ca (anyathā), sumedhaḥ(-dho) (mahādhāḥ), (ṛṇa-(-e-) iṣudhyāḥ (-ā) asan, yāḥ(-ā) daṇḍa-(-ā-)-arhāḥ dhvaradbyaḥ (pāpebhyah (-o's-) asan), ṛṇāni tasya duṣ-karmaṇāṁ hetoḥ pratikāra(-ā-)arhāṇāṃ), yathā ca tāḥ (-ā) asan(-t-) saṁ(ṅ)kṛitau, -yat ; (kīla, yathā (te(-a) ubhe(-a) iṣudhye (-ā) ṛtāva(-n-)-pāpābhyām, viśvathā saṁśodhite bhaviṣyataḥ(-s) saṁśodhayiṣyete saṁ(ṅ)-kṛtau).

15. pṛcchā (-āmi (-y) avat ((-d) etādriś- (,-k), -kila), yā mēniḥ (pratikarī(-y) amuṁ, tulyaṁ pāpa-ṛṇavánaṁ, nipatiṣyati) yaḥ (yo) dvárate (asma-duṣ-kṣatrāya janya-nīti-śatruve) kṣatram (asma-kshetra-nīti-dharmāṇi) sunāti, (yaḥ(-s-) tāni(-y-) amuṣya duḥ(-ś) śaktau(-āv), etādṛśaḥ(-o), -tāṁ etāvat(-d) amūlyāṁ janatā- (-ā-)-artha-lābhān*1 tasya hastayoḥ samādadhāti)

(b) duḥ-*2-(duś-)-cyautnāya(-ā-), asura, (rāja-jana-(-ā-)-abhi-droheṇa, mārātmākena sahasā), yáḥ (yo) néd sva-jīvātuṁ sanitúr (ṛte) vindāti

(c) kṛṣīvalasya (-ai-) enasaḥ, (kila, ned ṛte (-ai-) enasaḥ kṛṣīvalasya, taṁ prati) paśvaḥ, vīrāt(-asya) ca(-ā) adruhataḥ ((-s)tān prati ; kila, yaḥ) sva-jīvana-vibhavaṁ ned anyathā vindati ((-y) āpayāti(-ir-) ṛte bādhāt(-d)*2 ṛtāvanaḥ(-o).

*1 ... *asma sainya-balaṁ(-ñ-)-ca (-e-), **ity ādikam.* Recall for form only *duḥ-śaṁsa, duḥ-śeva*, etc.

*2 ... *ned ṛte steya-ghātanāt(-d) ṛtāvanaṁ prati, go-grahāt paśu-(-v-)-apahārāt(-d), -ned ṛte gṛha-dāha-(-ā-)-aparāddheḥ(-r), iti(-y) ādi(-y), ekāntataḥ.* Striking features of a pristine Turkish raid.

16. pṛcchā (-āmi(-y)) *avat(-d), adaḥ(-a etādṛś-(-k, -g) ; yathā svaḥ (sa(ḥ)) yaḥ(-s) sudānuḥ(-ur) mānasya kṣatraṁ

(b) kṣetrasya vā, dasyoḥ** ((-or) ?) vā ((-ā-) asma-nija-bhūmi-deśasya (-ar-)) ṛtena* puraḥ-(-o-) -dhātave aspṛhata*(?) (aspardhata)

(c) tvāvān(-t syāt), sumedhaḥ (-dho'sura) asura, (tathā(-ai-) evaṁ, kila, tvadīya-sevā-(-ā-)-arhaḥ (-s) syāt tava mahagurvarthe, tat(-d)-madye, saṁ(-ṁ-)dhi-vigrahayoḥ(-or), ṛṣiḥ pravaktā-vā, yajakaḥ(-o) vā, yathā svaḥ (saḥ, so'sat(-d), asat(-d), yat-(c-)-cyautnaḥ*, (kila yáni (kāni ?) cyautnāni samākṛṇvan(-ṁs-) tathā-vidhaḥ(-o's-) asat(-d), bhaviṣyati).

*1 *Tvāvant-* ' how he may become worthy of thee, a fit leader in our holy national congregation '.

15. And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda, (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked) : What is the award*1 for him who prepares the throne*2 for the faithless, for the evil-doer,*3 Ahura, for him who cannot else reclaim*4 his life, not else save*5 with lawless harm to the tiller's herd, to the pious husbandman's flock who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith) ?

*1 So also Roth, 'Ich frage — was die Strafe ist?'.

*2 The head of the D(a)eva party was of course continually plotting, as well as fighting openly, to bring in the rival sovereigns — rival to Vishtāspa.

*3 *Ī dūs-kūnišn'*.

*4 So also Roth (Yasna XXXI, p. 11), 'der sein Brot nicht findet ohne Gewalthat an der Heerde'.

*5 The Pahlavi translator sees the root *han* in the sense of 'acquisition', and not from ignorance of the sense given above. In another place, he renders *javīd min*; (see XLVII, 5).

16. Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this : — How such an one as he who, generous and wise, has striven to promote (Thy) Rule*1 over house, and region, and province, in the Holy Law, and in truth, how he may become like Thee., Thine own,*2 O Mazda Ahura? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask), — and in what actions*3 (living he may so be ?)

*1 So also Roth, 'der die Herrschaft über Hof Gau und Land um das rechte zu fördern hat'. No Archangel here.

*2 The Pahlavi, Lak hāvand; Neryosangh, tvattulyaḥ; so also Roth, 'deiner werth'.

*3 'By what actions'; — 'in what exact course he should persevere with reference to the many religious and secular exigencies, public and private'. It seems almost incredible that such close and familiar questions could have been circulated at such a period and place; — and we must carefully endeavour to estimate what an advanced state of social, civic, and religious development all this inevitably proves.

17. kataraṁ (dvayoḥ(-or) vratayoḥ(-or) parasparaṁ pratipakṣiṇoḥ(-or)) mahīyaḥ(-yo)) vṛṇavate, ṛtāvā vā, dhváran vā, vṛṇute (vrataṁ) mahīyaḥ(-a iva) (kila, katarasmai śrad-(-dhāṁ)-dhatte (dadhate (?), kíla, kataraṁ ubhayoḥ(-or), asma-dharma-netā vā, nāstikaḥ(-ko) vā durjanaḥ, (-o'sma-) asma-dharma-pratipakṣī*[1], dveṣī ; — kataraṁ vrataṁ mahīyaḥ(-o) vṛṇavate),

(b) vidvāṁ viduṣe* bravītu ; — mā naḥ (-o'v-) avidvāṁ api (*dīrgha-kālataraṁ, iti) dambhayet(-d) ; —

(c) edhi naḥ (no'su-) asura, vasoḥ pradakṣayitā manasaḥ, (kila, (-ā-) asma-(-ar-)-ṛṣeḥ *puṇyatamasya, viśvataḥ(-to's-) asma-netuḥ(-r) vasu-manasvataḥ).

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*1 ... *kila, kataraḥ(-s) tayoḥ pracaratoḥ parasparam etāvat(-d) mūlādārabhya pratiyudhyatoḥ* ; —kataraḥ(-s) svavratena tatvataḥ (-to'sma) asma-svastim ihāmūtra (-e-), ihaloke paraloke, bhūyiṣṭhaṁ nirvāhakataraḥ (-o's-) asti, asat, tathā ca kataraḥ(-a) ubhayoḥ(-or) gurvarthataraḥ (*-yamānayoḥ(?)).*

18. mā kis(-s(?),-ḥ-r) *át(-d) vaḥ(-s-) tásya dhváratāḥ (mantrāṅ) asma-dharma-śatroḥ(-or) mantrāṅ upa-śroṣata(-āt)*, śāsanāni (śāsān(-ṅ)ca) ; —

(b) ā hí ((-y)asau* dhvarāḥ(-ā))* mānaṁ, viśaṁ vā, kṣetraṁ vā, dasyuṁ** vā (asma-kṣetra-deśam), ādhāt(-d)

(c) durite(-au, -ā) māreca(-ā-) ; — addhā (-e-) **īns(?) **īṅr(?) imān (-ñś) śasta* (asinā) śnathanena (asma-cetāraḥ(-a) iva śnathitāraḥ).

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*1 We need a form to equal the med. *sāzdūm*, would it be a *śas** + *dhvam* = **śodhvam*.?

17. Which (of the two conflicting sides) believes the more prevailing (greater)*1 thing; (is it our) saint, or thefaithless foe-man? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened; — let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice).*2 Be*3 Thou Thyself), O Ahura Mazda! Thy Good Mind's full revealer.*

*1 Possibly *mazyō* has the sense of *maziṣta* in chap. XLIX, 1. There 'the most prevailing' seems to be the proper rendering.

*2 See verse 12.

*3 Or 'declare (it) to us' to ind. *ah* = 'to say'.) O Ahura Mazda, as thy Good Mind's (Thy Good-minded One's) full revealer'.

*4 Notice the force of the expressions, — they might be used to-day under similar circumstances; — no light is allowed to the infidel; — 'he is a blind leader of the blind'.

18. (And you, ye assembled throngs,) let not one of you lend a hearing to Manthra, or command of that infidel*1 (ignorant*2 as he is), (b, c) for home, village, region, and province he would place in ruin, and death. (But fly ye to arms without hearing, — and) hew ye them all with the halberd!*3+4

*1 Jolly, 'Keiner von euch höre auf die Lieder und Gebote des Lügners'. So also Roth, 'Rath und Befehle'.

*2 Compare evīdvå in verse 17.

*3 The Pahlavi *sāzēd snaīš*, 'prepare ye the sabre', 'sharpen the blade'. It was however a two-handed weapon; — see Y. LVI. 12, 4 (Sp.).

*4 Notice that the victory of the Holy Cause by no means assured, — a highly characteristic particular of much historical importance; — the least concession to the opposing party might bring on civil and domestic ruin. It was no warfare of words. Notice the closeness of the expected contemporaneous action — an acute and imminent crisis is indicated.

19. sroṣāt(-d)* (asma-śiṣyaḥ(-o 's-) asya (-ā-) asma-(-ar-)-ṛṣeh(-r))*[1] yaḥ(-yo'manta) amanta (-ar-) ṛtam (asma-dharma-saṅ(ṁ)kalpam)asubhiḥ(-r) (janarthaṁ), vidvāṅ, asura, —

(b) ṛju-(-ū-)-uktāya*vacasām kshayamāṇaḥ(-no)jihvā*-vaśāḥ*,

(c) tvā (tvayā** (?) tvadīyayā)·atharyā śukhrayā, sumedhaḥ ((-dho'bhi) abhi-vi-śvāsitaḥ(-ta) utsāhitaḥ prabravīti, tayoḥ (-or) araṇayoḥ(-or) manaḥ(-o)-lābha(-ā-)-arthaṁ), sumedhaḥ (-dho), vasau (vivāda-samādhāna(-ā-)artham atharyā) vidhitayā*[2] (-ā-)araṇayoḥ (araṇyoḥ(-or* (?)) vā). (*ukthāya.))

*1 Or 'Ahura as inspiring the *Ṛṣi*'.

*2 Has *vidatha* = 'assembly' anything to do here? = 'for the sake of the congregation in the assembly'. Or is the Av. form loc. to a **vīdāti*?

*5 See note on verse 3, and read as alternative 'from the two *araṇi*'. Notice the curious allusion to 'free speech' at such a date.

That we have here any immediate allusion to the later inexplicable (insane) *Nirang-i-var* is not possible. Some peculiarity in the success of the fire-sticks may, however, be here referred to. If the fire came quickly, it might have been regarded as an especially significant omen, if not even a proof of inspiration. The mere fact that the fire was kindled at all by the priest made it sacrosanct. It is again with the greatest reluctance that I disagree with Haug's brilliant suggestion. We have 'through the Fire encouraged he speaks, given forth for the good of the two parties', or 'given forth in the two good *araṇi*, fire-sticks'; yet see *ãsayã* = 'of the two parties' above in strophe 3.

20. yaḥ (yo dveṣī pratipakṣī) dhāyāt (dheyāt ((-d), asma-śiṣyaṁ) ṛtāvanaṁ) dabhn(u)vānaṁ*[1], — (yaḥ (-a) imam abhi-droheṇa dambhayet(-d)*[1], yaḥ (ya) imaṁ dambhayamānaṁ, kila,

*1 *dâbya* (W.).

19. Let them hear Him*1 who conceived Asha (the Holy Law) for the folk,*2 who is the Wise One, O Mazda Ahura. For the truthspeaker (of Thy creed) (he speaks) ruling with absolute sway over words, with tongue at-His-Will (and free) (to guide us in our way). By Thy shining flame*3 (He doth guide us, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers.*4

*1 According to the grammatical forms the agent here should be a divine being, as *ye mantā* (see verse 7) is characteristic of the Deity. The vocative, strange as it may seem, does not necessarily exclude Ahura, as the subject referred to in *ye*. Several analogous cases occur. The Deity may here, however, represent His prophet, as the D(a)ēvas do their worshippers here and in the later Avesta. Such obscurities are characteristic in the Gāthas everywhere, and constitute a marked 'curiosity in literature'. Some writers force the language into a reference to the human subject for the sake of the greatly to be desired simplicity.

*2 Some writers read '*ahumbiš-*' = 'healing the world', but the *-bhi* of *bhiṣaj(-k)* might be from *abhi-* (?).

*3 Compare chap. XXX, 2. 'Behold ye the flames with the better mind'; possibly, also chap. XXX, 1, 'the signs in the lights seen friendly'. No reference to the later insane *Nirang-i-var*. So reading *-dhāi vacanām*.

*4 One places Ahura in the instrumental, a case in which the Almighty seldom appears. The above translation needs no alternative, as the language would be the same whoever '*ye*' refers to.

20. (But, O ye listening men !) he who renders the saint deceived,*1 for him shall be later destruction.*2 Long life shall be his in the darkness ; foul shall be his food ; — his

*1 I follow the admirable lead of the Pahlavi here, as the previous verse mentions 'veracity'. Its indication is *pavan frīfšn'*, — so freely.

*2 I differ with diffidence from the hint of the Pahlavi here (as elsewhere). It has *šīvan* = 'tears', which however is free for 'calamity' and 'sorrow'. Nom. sing.; see its position.

pratipakṣiṇaṁ, abhiṣaṁkuryāt), *se*[1] (?)* (asmai dveṣiṇe pratipakṣiṇe) prakalpyate(-yiṣyate('p-)) aparaṁ kṣayaḥ(-o)*[2],

(b) dīrgham āyum (daṇḍa-nirantaraṁ) tamasaḥ (-si), *durbhojanaṁ (viṣam evam), avastāt (-d) vacaḥ(-o) (nāraka (-ā-) avaroktaṁ) ; —

(c) taṁ vaḥ (vo's-) asuṁ, (haye) dhvarantaḥ (pāpāḥ(-ś), cyautnaiḥ(-s) svaiḥ(-r)* (yuṣmadīyaṁ) dhyānaṁ neṣat (saṁpraneṣyati).

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*1 Av. *hōi* (= *hę*) = a Skt. **se* (?) presents a strange analogy with *mōi* (*mę*) = Skt. *me*.

*2 *khšayam* to *khši* = 'destroy'.

21. sumedhāḥ(-ā) dadhāt(-d) asuraḥ((-ś śiraḥ(-ś)-śarma) sarvatāteḥ(-s) (svasteḥ(-ś) cit (-cch-)) śarīravatyāḥ(-ā) manasmayāyāḥ(-ā), amṛtatvasya ca (dīrgha-jīvaṁ sukham, ihāmutra(-e-) ihaloke paraloke),

(b) bhūreḥ(-r) á (-ar-), ṛtásya ca (-ā-) (asma-puṇya-dharmaṇaḥ) svapatyāt* (svarājaḥ(-ś) śakteḥ) kṣatrasya śiraḥ-(-ś-)-śarmaca

(c) vasoḥ(-or) **vadhar (*vadhaḥ(-o), vājaṁ) manasaḥ (-so'sm-) asmai yaḥ (-s) **se(?) (asmai) manyunā (nirbandhena ūṣmaṇā) cyautnaiḥ(-ś) ca vratyaḥ ((-o's-asat), kíla, yaḥ (yo'sya) asya) sevitā satyena hṛdayabhaktiḥ(-r) dṛśya(-ā-)te).

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*1 For the difficult suffix to *vazdvar*(*e*), we must think first of the rare suffix *-vas* = *var* as in *śikvas*, *ṛbhvas*, then of a possible *-dhvar* (?); — for Av. *vazd* see *vazdaŋhā* in a 'favouring' sense; but is Av. *vazd-* not indian *vadh* before the dental, '*d*', '*dh*'? Recall the *vadhar* (= *vadhaḥ*) of Indra. — *vājam*, however, renders its point with sufficient clearness.

speech shall be of the lowest.*1 And this, which is such a life *2 as your own, O ye false! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring*3 you!*4

*1 The Pahlavi *anāk rūbišnīh** *yemalelūnēd-*. This, placed together with such passages as XLVI, 11, XLIX, 11, and LI, 13, formed the basis for the more complete Yast XXII, where the damned man's soul reviles him.

*2 Others prefer 'place', but see *āyū* in line b.

*3 'Has led on'? Notice that the 'evil' can have a d(a)ēna, NB.

*4 This is one of those passages which make Avesta the 'document' of subjective recompense, as one of the originals of all later similar passages outside the Gāthas.

21. But Ahura Mazda will give the shielding-headship of His own Sovereign Power (from Himself to His faithful) with the fulness of Weal, Deathless-long-life,*1 and of Asha (as His Holy Law); — (and He will likewise give) the Good Mind's (Good-Minded One's) vigorous might to him who in Spirit and Truth is His friend.

*1 That Ameretatāt means more than long life is clear from ameṣa.

*2 *Afaš nafšā patīh*. The Gāthic would be more literally perhaps 'from His own Dominion'.

*3 Pahlavi *sardārīh*.

*4 *Vazdvarīh*; Ner. *pīvaratvam*.

*5 Fidelity in friendship. One naturally thinks of *urvatha* (*vratha*), as having something of the sense of *vratyá*. Hübschmann, Casuslehre, s. 259, 'der durch Gesinnung und Thaten sich ihm als freund erweist.'

*6 Notice *mainyū* unquestionably in this profounder sense.

*7 It is impossible to confine these allusions to mere party feeling; — this was of course prominently present, but not to the exclusion of really personal religious experience.

22. citrāṇi(-ɪ-) (?) (imāni viśvāni santi) *sudháse (asma-(-ar-)-ṛṣaye viśvasukṛte) yathā na*(?) (yathārthaṁ*)*vedamānāya manasā

(b) vasunā ; — svaḥ (sa(ḥ)) kṣatreṇa (asma-(-ai-)-aiśvarya-pramāṇena, asma-balena ca viśvataḥ(-to), nīti-sainyena (-ar-) ṛtam (asma-puṇya-pakṣa-panthānaṁ, mārgaṁ) vacasā, cyautnena (svakāryeṇa dharma (-ā-) anuṣaṅgeṇa ca) sapti ; —

(c) svaḥ (sa(ḥ) te, sumedhaḥ(-dho) mahādhāḥ (-ā-)) asura, ojiṣṭhaḥ (-ṭho 'rtha-) artha-nirvāhakatamaḥ (-o's-) asati(-y) **āsthitiḥ(-r), astiḥ(-s ?), (tvadīyaḥ(-o) sevitā bhūyiṣṭham abhiṣṭi-kṛt, -bhṛt*[2]).

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*1 For Av. *āstiš*, *ā* + *sthiti-* occurs first to me in the sense of ' stand by '. Then we must not forget that *asti* = ' bone ' is used for ' person ' ; — see *asthan-vant-*, — whether there is an ' *asti* ' in the sense of ' person ', ' being ', seems doubtful ; — at all events it is a late use of *asti*, — yet see *su-asti*.

Not only is the momentous*[1] question not yet clearly decided, — but we see that the party-organization of each side was in full shape. The hostile side were as fully organized as the Zoroastrian, with a rival candidate for the throne. The opposing regulations are even referred to under the apparently sacred name of ' *vrata* ', meaning the ' entire mass of the religious statutes including doctrines '.

Though our work is essentially the religious-historical, we are

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*1 It involved the entire future of the Persian Faith. Would that Religion continue to be almost identical with the Indian D(a)eva-worship, or would it be the worship of Ahura and His attributes in their grand simplicity and deep interior moral significance?

22. To the wise are these things clear as to the one with his mind discerning (not blinded by the perverter).*1 With Thy Good Mind and Thy Sovereign Power he follows Thy Law in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda ! he shall be a most helpful and vigourous being*2 (for he serves with every power) !

*1 So according to frequent indications; — see above.

*2 *tan' aīū', astiš twice translated.* Ner.: *Sa te—mitram asti niveditatanuḥ.*

*2 This XXXI is a deeply interesting document from every point of view, seeming to direct its points as much to the religious-political issue, as to the personal character of the leader regarded as the typical believer. What was there like it elsewhere at its date? It vividly depicts a sharp collision of interests, almost reminding us of a modern struggle.

not at liberty to refrain from drawing just conclusions also as to those secular elements which the hymns so inevitably portray ; — and this Yasna XXXI seems to show in an exceptionally vivid manner the state of society, civil as well as military and religious, amidst which it was composed.

First, it could not have been put togntner for any sparsely settled district of wide extent without a centre. Every strophe shows the glow of controversy ; — parties were at close quarters, while the rival leaders harangued their audiences, and not merely the rhapsodists. — Property was acutely involved, — real estate itself was not safe ; — and bloody conflicts were actually urged on. This forms an historical picture without a

possibility of uncertainty. Though we cannot be sure of the precise locality, we are forced to inquire into all the probabilities. The towns mentioned in Vendīdād point rather more to the East, but Yasna XIX names Ragha in such a manner as to make it evident that Ragha was a teeming centre of Zarathushtrianism, as it remains to-day a centre of the persecuted remnant. The expressions are not very extended, but they are both of a startling and convincing character.

Here, then, is an obviously genuine fragment of one of the crises in the religious history of early Persia, and of all that this religion meant for the world. These who linger at Rai, Rages, Ragha may feel that we have here before us one of the echoes of its early struggles which first rescued Iran from the old idolatries.

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